

H.D. MALAVIYA

SOCIALIST IDEOLOGY

OF

CONGRESS

A STUDY IN ITS EVOLUTION

Foreword by
K. K A M A R A J
President, Indian National Congress

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Introduction

It was about a decade ago that the Congress formally adopted the objective of a socialistic pattern of society. The basic philosophy implicit in socialism was, however, the inspiration and goal of the Congress from the beginning of the current century. The immediate objective, of course, was to secure freedom from alien rule. The question was often asked, "For whose benefit was the freedom to be obtained?" Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru repeatedly and emphatically made it clear that the main concern of the Congress was the welfare of the oppressed, down-trodden and semi-starved millions of the country. In 1931, while addressing the Second Round Table Conference at London, Mahatma Gandhi stated :

"Above all, the Congress represents, in its essence, the dumb, semi-starved millions scattered over the length and breadth of the land....Every interest which, in the opinion of the Congress, is worthy of protection has to subserve the interest of these dumb millions....."

Even earlier than this pronouncement of Gandhiji, the A.I.C.C. in a resolution adopted at Bombay in May, 1929, had clearly indicated the need for socialistic organisation of society in our country. It was clearly stated : "In order, therefore, to remove this poverty and misery, and to ameliorate the condition of the Indian masses, it is essential to make revolutionary changes in the present economic and social structure of society and to remove the gross inequalities." At the annual session of the Congress held in 1931 at Karachi, a comprehensive resolution was adopted in which, besides declaring that the organisation of economic life must conform to the principle of justice, the need for land reforms and State ownership and control of key industries, services and mineral resources was emphasised.

There is one fact which gives me a sense of thrill and pride. It was at this city of Jaipur that two most significant documents containing the main directions of progress towards socialism in our country were approved by the A.I.C.C. Immediately after securing independence for the country, the A.I.C.C. appointed a high-level committee with Shri Jawaharlal Nehru as Chairman

to draw up a detailed programme for the economic development of the country.

This historic Report of the Congress Economic Programme Committee, which gave a concrete shape to the socialistic philosophy of the Congress was approved at Jaipur Session in December, 1948. Again it was at Jaipur Session that Article I of the Congress Constitution was modified to declare that the Object of the Congress was the establishment of a Cooperative Commonwealth based on equality of opportunity and of political, economic and social rights. This declaration led ultimately to the famous Avadi Resolution of 1955 which categorically stated that planning should take place with a view to the establishment of socialistic pattern of society, where the principal means of production are under social ownership and control, production is progressively speeded-up and there is equitable distribution of the national wealth.

We do not want a rigid dogma to be brought from some country and transplanted here. As Panditji used to say, we have to develop our own variety of socialism. It is a growing concept which has to develop with and according to the changing conditions. It cannot be brought about by a mere resolution or an order. We have to be clear about our objective and work hard for achieving it. We have to create conditions of plenty for then alone welfare of the masses is possible. We have to develop a technologically mature society in which our productive efficiency increases progressively. In this process, we should ensure that there is no concentration of wealth and income and also that the existing disparities in incomes are gradually reduced. Each citizen should get equal opportunity for development and this is possible only when a certain minimum standard of living is guaranteed to everybody. This can be ensured only by hard work carried on under improved technological conditions and facilities so that the returns per unit of labour increase progressively. The old habits and dogmas will have to be given up. We will have to make our approach scientific and responsive to technological developments. Only then socialism will have a significant content and meaning in the lives of our countrymen.

I am very happy that Shri H.D. Malaviya, who has already written so many books on the socialist policies of Congress and

has many well-known studies to his credit, has undertaken this study about the Socialist Ideology of Congress and Its Evolution. The book has been ably written and the appendices attached to it make it still more valuable. Shri Malaviya deserves to be congratulated for this work and I hope it will have a wide readership.

Jaipur,
5-2-'66.

Mohan Lal Sukhadia



ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

7, JANTAR MANTAR ROAD, NEW DELHI - 1.

December 23, 1965

F O R E W O R D

The Indian National Congress came to accept the objective of socialism through a process of evolution of policy based upon its rich experience gained through close contacts with the masses.

Congress socialism is free from any dogmas and has its roots in Indian traditions and is enriched by the great teachings of the Father of our Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, and our late leader, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

For the Congress, freedom from foreign domination was not an end in itself, but the means to an end, namely, the achievement of happiness and prosperity for our toiling millions. By its experience and under Nehruji's guidance, the Congress came to accept that in the

given conditions of our underdeveloped country, only a socialist reorganisation of society can solve our problems.

I am happy that in his latest book Shri Harsh Deo Malaviya has attempted a study of the evolution of Congress ideology towards Socialism in a succinct and lucid way. I trust it would be found useful by Congressmen and all those interested.

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Nehru's Teachings— the Basis and the Background

INDIA today stands poised for an unprecedented and decisive turn in her hoary history which involves fundamental changes in the entire field of her social living as has hitherto existed in her far-flung villages and among its inhabitants, who in their totality really make up what is India.

This coming decisive turn in Indian history will be brought about through science whereunder power will reach the villages with all its revolutionary consequences, viz., modernised agriculture on big farms instead of present-day cultivation with primitive technique on pitably small holdings, universal literacy, rural industrialisation, etc.

India lives in its villages and in order that rural India may be transformed through supply of power, rural industries and modern agriculture, it is of the utmost importance that the nation should develop heavy and basic industries and the machine-making industry. These will help agricultural transformation and will in turn be supported and sustained by a flourishing agrarian economy.

Never before in her history had India been such a closely knit nation, and harnessed such power and resources as it has done today. Never before had we such industrialisation and literacy as now. And the harnessing of yet greater and vaster resources as also the nation's industrialisation is proceeding apace.

The needs of the Indian people require full freedom for the development of productive forces so that we become economically powerful and our diligent, modest and ingenious people,

after centuries of poverty and misery, may be able to fully satisfy their material and spiritual needs.

Once the nation is able to provide full satisfaction of the material and spiritual needs of the people, it can be claimed and visualized that these millions, who created a great culture and history when the productive force in Indian society were not so developed and when they themselves did not enjoy the full satisfaction of their material requirements, will through their ingenuity, skill and inherent goodness create an India greater and nobler than ever before.

The heights to which the attainments of this new coming India will soar can hardly be visualised today. And this India will fulfil Mahatma Gandhi's dream, for he told us :

"I want the freedom of my country so that other countries may learn something from my free country, so that the resources of my country might be utilized for the benefit of mankind. . . . My idea of nationalism is that my country may become free, that if need be, the whole country may die, so that the human race may live".

Such is the glorious vista which has opened out before us. And it is our proud privilege to live and work in the present generation of India when it stands for the greatest turn in its history.

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What we seek to achieve in India is the same as has been the urge of humanity from its earliest years, namely, the progressive conquest and understanding of the physical world resulting in establishing balance with nature on higher and higher levels.

The present is a great age of transition in human history, and in this changing world living has to be a continuous adjustment to these changes and happenings.

While at one with humanity in this urge for progressive conquest of nature and the consequent changes and adjustments, India as a great and ancient nation with noble traditions and proud attainments, and its distinct and unique personality, is destined to make outstanding and original contribution.

This projection of India's personality over what it does in the modern world is obvious enough. For example, it was

revealed in the methods of non-violence and Satyagraha it evolved under Mahatma Gandhi's leadership to attain its freedom from a mighty empire.

It again expressed itself in the approach of tolerance which India has succeeded to a large measure in bringing about in international relations today. Concretely, this approach succeeded in preventing world holocausts in Korea, Viet-Nam, the Middle East and in Congo, when it appeared as though war is round the corner.

In its approach to all problems, national or international, India is guided by Mahatma Gandhi's profound truth that hatred cannot be conquered by hatred and violence cannot be conquered by greater violence. Indeed, Gandhiji's moral approach to problems has been now powerfully reinforced by the practical aspect, namely, violence has now become too terrible and destructive.

In the context of present day India, when our objective is individual improvement and the lessening of human inequalities, India's approach does not permit of any ignoring of the basic human element and the ethical and spiritual aspects of life which are in the final analysis the basis of culture and civilisation and which give meaning to life.

It is obvious that in whatever India will do, and whatever ways it will adopt to attain the full blossoming of the life of its vast millions, it will be strongly influenced by its past. A great past is a valuable heritage, but can also be a drag. It is so because while some of the past heritage can be combined with the present and made a lever for further advancement, some of it cannot be so combined, and if not discarded can prove a veritable obstruction.

The past is ever with us and we live immersed in it. To combine it with the present and break from it where it cannot be so combined, and to make of all this the lever for a fuller, vibrant life—that is the great task facing India.

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Standing today in the nineteenth year of our independence, we are obviously conditioned by the struggle for freedom which raged in India for more than half a century led, by and large, by the Indian National Congress, though the contribution of other heroic elements and martyrs is equally glorious.

The movement for India's liberation began largely as an upper class movement and in its earliest years it demanded some concessions and protection essential for the growth of an indigenous consumer goods industry. Soon enough, however, this initial urge for freedom and self-expression was influenced by the utter poverty, destitution, helplessness and misery of our masses. And increasingly, though vaguely, eradication of this poverty and misery of the Indian people came to be among the main objectives of the Indian national movement.

This identification of the Indian National Congress with the *Daridranarayana* commenced after the First World War and the Jallianwalla Bagh Massacre, when Mahatma Gandhi took over the leadership of the Congress.

The Congress, however, continued as a multi-class organisation, and although it increasingly identified itself with the poverty-stricken millions and organisationally penetrated the rural areas, its policy resolutions did not fully express this process till the late thirties.

In the meantime a number of factors began to influence Indian national thinking. The most outstanding among these was the Russian Revolution of 1917. As years rolled on after this world-shaking event, nationalist opinion in India was informed of it and of the developments which followed through Jawaharlal Nehru who visited the Soviet Union in 1927-28 and subsequently wrote a book about it.

These very years, from 1917-1928, saw the growth of a Trade Union and working class movement in India. Huge working class strikes of the G.I.P. Railway, the Bombay textile workers and the jute mill workers of Bengal, etc., drew the attention of the Indian national movement and influenced it.

Soon enough the earlier vague identification of the national movement with the cause of the *Daridranarayana* began to find concrete expression. It was clearly realised that the fight for independence and removal of alien rule from our soil, which was at the root of India's poverty and misery, was not the end in itself. It was a means to an end. The end was to build up an India, happy and prosperous, with a just society, providing equal opportunities to all and allowing for the fullest development of each personality.

For making real such a vision of future India, the people of India had to be roused from their slumber. They had to be roused to fight against a mighty empire, and for this they had to be made fearless and disciplined. They were to be politically educated and trained to fight a non-violent war against the foreign rulers.

The Indian National Congress thus came to be the great organisation built by the Indian people by their effort and devotion to the ideals propounded by the Congress. The Congress united within its fold all the freedom fighters of India for forging and consolidating Indian unity and for fighting fissiparous and disruptive trends.

In thus uniting and disciplining the people of India, the Congress sought to rouse them not only against the alien rulers but also against our own lethargy and backwardness, against our own casteism and communalism, against our own orthodoxy and inefficiency. For, in the highly technical world of today, only modern methods, habits and behaviours can enable the creation of an India capable of holding its head high in the world.

To Nehru, more than to anyone else, the Indian national movement owes this vision of future India. Nehru had this vision before him even in the early years of his political life. With his great sense of history and his profound scholarship, with his scientific and disciplined mind, and his keen perception of men and things, he did not take long to determine the path forward for the Indian people. And he ever viewed India in the context of the world we live in. With his crystal clean, inherent integrity he observed the unfolding drama of history all around us in the strife-torn world.

He taught the Indian nation that their struggle was part of a world-wide upsurge of humanity signalling the end of the age of domination of one over the other and heralding the emergence of a new world based on equality and justice and living in friendship with each other.

As early as 1929, in his Presidential address to the historic Lahore Congress, Nehru declared : "I must plainly confess that I am a socialist and a republican".

Nehru carried forward his crusade for socialism in the years following the Civil Disobedience Movement of 1930-32. During

a five-month interlude outside jail in 1933-34, he wrote his small booklet, *Whither India ?* which in reality expressed the mental conflicts of large numbers of Congressmen.

This *Whither India ?* was historic in its impact on national thought. It gave a definite socialistic slant to the thinking of vast sections in our national movement. In this pamphlet Nehru squarely posed the question :

“Whose freedom are we particularly striving for, for nationalism covers many sins and includes various conflicting elements”.

He referred to the various interests in the country, the feudal princes, the big zamindars, the petty zamindars, the agriculturists, the bankers and industrialists, the peasantry and the working class, and said :

“It is obvious that there are serious conflicts between various interests in the country and every law, every policy, which is good for one interest may be harmful for another. . . . Nothing is more absurd than to imagine that all the interests in the nation can be fitted in without injury to any. At every step some have to be sacrificed for others”.

And in case conflict between the different interests comes to the fore, whose interests have to be preserved and whose sacrificed ? Mahatma Gandhi gave a very categorical answer to this question as early as 1931. Addressing the Second Round Table Conference at London, he had said :

“Above all, the Congress represents, in its essence, the dumb semi-starved millions scattered over the length and breadth of the land. . . . Every interest which, in the opinion of the Congress, is worthy of protection has to subserve the interests of these dumb millions ; and so you find now and again apparently a clash between several interests, and if there is a genuine, real clash, I have no hesitation in saying, on behalf of the Congress, that the Congress will sacrifice every interest for the sake of the interests of the dumb millions”.

It is thus obvious that the national movement for freedom led by our great leaders Mahatma Gandhi and Shri Nehru took a categorical stand on the ultimate objective of India's struggle, namely, emancipation of its downtrodden and exploited millions. They made it clear that in any future set up in free

India, the interests of the toiling millions would be considered paramount, and all other interests deserving of protection will have to subserve to this clearly stated objective.

In fact, the whole basis and urge of the national movement came from a desire for economic betterment, to throw off the burdens that crushed the masses and to end the exploitation of the Indian people. As Shri Nehru has said in his *Whither India ?*:

“Leaders and individuals may come and go ; they may get tired and slacken off ; they may compromise or betray ; but the exploited and suffering masses must carry on the struggle for their drill-sergeant is hunger. Swaraj or freedom from exploitation for them is not a fine paper constitution or a problem of the hereafter. India's immediate goal can, therefore, only be considered in terms of the exploitation of her people. There is no room for quibbling when the fate of nations and millions of human beings is at stake”.

By the very nature of the situation in India, and because of the inspiration and teachings of Mahatma Gandhi, Shri Nehru and others, a socialistic content took root in our national liberation struggle from its very beginning. Time and again it found organisational expression, as in the formation of the Congress Socialist Party in 1934, or like the now almost defunct Ginger Group in post-independence years, or the latest expression of this urge through the Congress Forum for Socialist Action.

These groups which have been formed from time to time within the Congress organisation really were expressions of the blowing wind even though they never encompassed all the genuine socialist elements within the national movement. Thus, for example, some of the staunchest socialists did not join in the Congress Socialist Party. The Ginger Group ended up by being reduced to a close preserve of some individuals.

While such socialist groups were formed within the Congress from time to time and functioned with varying degrees of effectiveness and usefulness, the organisation itself as a whole increasingly identified itself with socialistic policies in its programmatic declarations. This steady and continuous evolution of Congress policy towards socialistic policies and programmes is in itself a fascinating study.

As high points of this steady evolution may be mentioned the Karachi Congress Resolution on Fundamental Rights

(1931), the Faizpur Agrarian Programme (1937), the August Resolution (1942), etc.,—all these, of course, in pre-independence period.

Once India achieved its independence, and even though beset in its early years of freedom by such colossal problems as those of Refugees, Hyderabad, Kashmir, etc, the Congress nevertheless gave top priority to economic problems. The first step in this direction was the appointment of the Congress Economic Programme Committee in 1947 under the Chairmanship of Shri Nehru, and later the appointment of the Congress Agrarian Reforms Committee in 1948 under the Chairmanship of the famous Gandhian economist, late Prof. J.C. Kumarappa.

Both these Committees in their famous and historic Reports expressed themselves on the policies to be adopted in free India on the all important questions of industrialisation and reorganisation of agriculture.

The first Committee unambiguously declared itself in favour of a socialist policy for free India's industrialisation without using that word as such. The second Committee made far-reaching recommendations on the land question aiming at the break up of the old class structure of rural society based on feudal exploitation which had become stagnant and advocated policies of cooperativisation for reorganisation of agriculture.

We are making here only cursory references to these important documents which have deeply influenced all economic activities and programmes in India since 1950 onwards. Among themselves they lay down a clear-cut policy which is socialist in content. We may point out that those critics who are never tired of criticising Congress attitudes as hotch-potch are obviously ignorant of the very clear policies laid down for the decisive sectors of industry and agriculture in the very first years of India's independence.

Despite these programmatic advancements, however, Congress did not inscribe the Socialist objective on its banner till 1954. At Avadi, however, the basic socialistic urge and purpose of India's national resurgence from very early years was boldly stated in the objective of the Indian National Congress.

In subsequent years, at Amritsar, Nagpur, etc., this socialist objective was further clarified and incorporated in the program-

mes accepted for different sectors of India's economy. This also found expression in the objectives of Indian planning as stated in official Plans. The Parliament also adopted this objective. The Election Manifesto of the Congress for the Third General Elections took the issue of socialism to the masses and got its categorical endorsement from them.

Socialism has thus come to be the set purpose for which India is working and striving today.

The evolution of the national movement of India to an acceptance of this objective has been a unique process free from all the dogmatic fights which preceded such culminations elsewhere.

This has its obvious advantages, but then there are also some evident disadvantages.

Socialism is basically a different approach from that of capitalism. The world has seen that forces of capitalist society if left unchecked tend to make the rich richer and the poor poorer, and the gap between them increases. As such, capitalist development is supremely unsuited for newly liberated developing countries whose main purpose is to reduce the poverty of the masses. Socialism deliberately wants to interfere with the normal processes and thus while raising production, also lessens inequality in society.

Socialism, however, is not merely a way of production and a way of life, but also a certain scientific approach to social and economic problems, to social history, to the ends of human society.

What has happened, however, is that whereas Indian national movement has accepted the socialist objective because of the inherent needs of India and the momentum it gained from its earliest years, and also because of the towering personality of Nehru, it has never been educated as it should have been in the scientific approach to social and economic problems which is the great attribute of socialism. Nor has it been educated in the all important socialist approach to social history.

Thus, there exists an obvious hiatus in national thinking today. While accepting planned approach on socialistic lines for steady progress of our economy, the thinking in national ranks is not aware enough of the scientific approach of socialism to social and economic problems.

This to a large extent explains the confusion we come across and the conflicting and contradictory statements we hear from time to time from leading Congressmen who are supposed to be guiding this planned development on socialistic lines.

It is obvious that no dogmatic approach can ever find acceptance by our national movement. The problems which India faces are to some extent common to other countries, but then there are innumerable other problems for which there are no historical parallels or precedents.

We have thus to do our own thinking, profiting by examples elsewhere, but essentially to find the path for ourselves best suited to our heritage, traditions, genius and conditions.

Such a unified thinking alone can enable us to march forward in a united way. The unity so needed today within the Congress organisation can come only on the basis of acceptance of a common approach to problems and ideology.

Such an ideology and approach, scientific and yet free from dogmatism, and delving deep in our ancient history, traditions and genius is already placed before the national movement in the form of Nehru's writings and pronouncements.

In his monumental works, *Glimpses of World History*, and the *Discovery of India*, in his stray writings compiled in various volumes, and in his writings and pronouncement since our independence, Nehru provides a unified world approach to problems facing humanity as also to the questions crying for solution in India. He has been a great mind, possessed of a great sense of history which viewed the present as also the coming future in this historic setting.

To him goes the credit of giving the socialist trend to India's national upsurge. In his approach he has combined the best in India's past heritage as interpreted and applied to present-day India by Mahatma Gandhi, along with the advancements of modern world thought. And in the totality of his writings and his lifework, Nehru becomes the Father of Indian Socialism.

The task is to study his vast writings and pronouncements with a view to unify Indian socialist thought as evolved through the national movement. Such an effort alone can unify Indian thinking on the question of our socialism and also give answers to the problems of development and allied matters which face us every day.

IN order that we Congressmen may play our rightful role in the coming years to bring about a socialistic transformation of Indian economy peacefully and democratically, in accordance with the nation's genius and traditions, it would be of interest and relevance to bear in mind how our present economic policy of socialist goal has taken shape through evolution in the course of the last 80 years of Congress history.

The initiative taken by an Englishman, with the tacit approval of the British rulers, to organise the Indian National Congress cannot just be explained away as the effort of a well-meaning Englishman who was permitted to do so by the foreign Government in a moment of laxity. The reasons go deeper.

British rule had thrown the peasant economy of India into a period of permanent and acute crisis. The subjection of the entire Indian economy to British imperial interests was a violent and painful process. The foundations of the old Indian economy were burst asunder. It meant the destruction of the handicrafts, of the self-sufficiency of the old village unit, and the subjugation of the entire peasant world to the vagaries of money and market economy. Old irrigation was allowed to fall into disuse, and forests were ruined.

Imperialism undermined the basis of the old feudal economy to suit its own interests, namely, the opening up of Indian market for industrial goods and ensuring for itself a cheap supply of raw materials. But it kept intact the feudal elements, and created new ones, whom it used as the mainstay of its political power. It allowed industries to develop only up to the

point they served these very interests but checked their further development.

These conditions of British Rule perpetuated peasant poverty, unemployment and indebtedness. The destruction of village crafts uprooted millions of Indian villagers from their traditional occupations. Growth of Indian industries, where this uprooted population could be absorbed, was strangled by the British rulers. This population, therefore, fell back upon land. The pressure on land grew and grew in India, and the fragmentation of holdings reached fantastic proportions. This took place when at the same time a host of parasites had been created by the British in the rural areas who sucked dry the very blood of the toiling peasantry. The people starved. Famines recurred and recurred. People died by the million.

By the time the Congress was organised by Mr. Hume in 1885, the disastrous fall in the living standards of the Indian peasantry, their utter poverty and extremely low purchasing power had begun to worry the British rulers. This low purchasing power increasingly resulted in giving poor returns to the British in India which they had maintained as a market for their finished products. The essence of British economic policy in India was to force down the price of its agricultural produce through a system of monopolies, and in the same way raise the prices of manufactured goods. This was, indeed, in accordance with the needs of finance-capital, which first wanted cheap raw materials, and then the highest possible profits from the sale of its finished products.

The British rulers thus found themselves caught in a vicious circle. It is very essential for us to understand this basic economic factor, for it is from this that emerged not only the Congress policy of those early days; the roots of socialist programme today are also to be traced to the vicious economy which the foreign rulers created in India.

The British could find no way of getting out of the vicious circle created by themselves. Their policy of killing Indian handicrafts and preventing or restricting the growth of big industry led to overcrowding of agriculture. This overcrowding of agriculture along with the loot of the peasantry by the landlords and other vested interests in land was at the root of the low purchasing power of the Indian people which, no doubt, the British

were interested in raising for the benefit of their own manufactures. The overcrowding of land meant that a continuously heavier demand was made on an already backward and stagnant agriculture to supply livelihood for an increasingly heavy proportion of a fast growing population. But under the existing conditions of peasant exploitation by landlord parasitism and the paralysing burdens of moneylenders, any development was crippled and Indian agriculture became increasingly incapable of fulfilling the demands made upon it.

In order to raise the purchasing power of the vast masses of the Indian peasantry, it was essential to industrialise the country which, if done, would have meant hitting at the manufactures and financiers in Britain ; it also demanded that the deadly burdens imposed by the British-propped landlords and princess on the peasantry be brought to an end. Both these the British rulers could not do. They were agents of the former, and their power in India rested for its support on the later.

Whatever industrialisation was permitted in India was dictated by the strategic and economic requirements of the British rulers. Railways were developed to take British manufactures from sea ports to the interior, and to bring back rich raw materials from the Indian hinterland to the ports for shipment to Britain to feed the growing industries there. Railways were also so planned as to deliver British troops to any part of India within 24 hours to quell or crush any revolt or mutiny. For the railways coal was needed. So the then Departments of Government of India devoted the greater part of their attention to search for coal and such other minerals as the British needed. Copper was prospected and a huge amount exported to Britain. So was the case with managanese, which was so much in need for Britain's steel industry. The C.P.M.O. (The Central Provinces Manganese Ores—biggest Manganese Company in the world) was thus created, as were so many other monopolies.

Thus, British imperialism, though interested in throttling India's industrial development, and maintaining it as a reservoir for its raw material requirements and a dumping ground for its finished goods, nevertheless, out of its own contradictions, and in its strategic interests, allowed limited industrialisation of India. Thus a machine industry grew in India, partly with Indian capital, very much more so with foreign capital. As a result of this passive

industrialisation, even when general poverty was increasing, small groups accumulated some capital and sought fields for investment.

Mr. Hume's attempt was to get together such type of people, who had also received English education, and get them to co-operate with the British rulers in the attempt somehow to arrest the deteriorating conditions in India. In those early years, the chief content of our national demand consisted of some share in the Government; and in the economic field the urge was largely confined to seeking protection from foreign competition for the development of Indian-owned industries, mainly textiles and jute.

The national movement thus originally began because of the desire of our upper-middle class to find means of self-expression and self-growth, but behind it was the political and economic urge of the nation where the situation was fundamentally of a revolutionary type and called for radical solutions. The late Romesh Dutt, and some other economists of the time, through their profound studies exposing the British drain of India's wealth, helped the radicalisation of the intellectual and lower middle classes.

Because of the inherent dynamism of the Indian situation, and also due to the basic revolutionary character of India's anti-imperialist struggle, even in the early years, when in the actual programmatic pronouncements the Congress resolutions mainly voiced the demands for tariff protection, facilities for industrialisation, and representation in the administration in the country, the speeches and pronouncements of its leaders always referred to the poverty of India's millions and the need to ameliorate their condition. Dadabhai Naoroji's speeches in the earliest years of Congress, his campaigning for his Parliament election in Britain, and his addresses elsewhere ever refer to this aspect. In fact, Dadabhai established close contacts with Hyndmann and other leaders of the Second (Socialist) International and with British Labour Party leaders.

It would be out of the purview of this note to go into these details. We mention them to bring out the point that the seeds of a socialistic culmination of the programme of the Indian National Congress were inherent not only in the socio-economic situation of India, to which we have referred earlier, but are also to be found in pronouncements of its earliest leaders.

When the personality of Lokmanya Tilak became dominant in the Congress towards the end of the first decade of this century and the greater part of the second decade, the anti-imperialist revolutionism of the national movement was very much sharpened, and with it the concern for the down-trodden masses of India. He was the first to give the clear lead for 'Swarajya' involving complete break with the British and even direct struggle and non-cooperation to wrest independence. In 1919, at the Amritsar Congress, Pandit Motilal Nehru, from his Presidential Chair, referred to the helpless condition of the "agricultural proletariat", and called for a new deal for them.

THE First World War had started in 1914 and lasted till 1918. The compulsions of strategic requirements brought about some further industrialisation of India such as the initiation of the Tata Steel Works at Jamshed-Pur, and opening of more textile and jute mills. India, by and large, cooperated with British war effort. The War, however, brought about big changes in the thinking of men, and the freedom movements in post-war years in Turkey, the Revolution in Russia, etc., had a radicalising influence on India's national movement. India expected that after the help, it rendered to Britain in winning the war against the Germans, it would get some reforms and advance towards self-government, but it got from the British the Jallianwalla Bagh massacre.

It was at this time that the personality of Mahatma Gandhi appeared on the Indian scene. Fresh with his successful experiment in Satyagraha in South Africa, Gandhiji proceeded to apply the same technique in India. On a limited scale he had launched peasant Satyagrahas in Kaira district in Gujarat, and in Champaran in Bihar. Now he extended the field of his activity to India as a whole.

It was at this period then, in 1917-1919, when the Congress went deeper down among the rural masses. The moderate and right-wing elements left the organisation and the national movement increasingly identified itself with rural people. At this time the great Avadh Kisan Uprising occurred in U.P., wherein Shri Jawaharlal Nehru made his first contacts with rural India. All these factors brought about an increasing radicalisation of the national movement.

Peasant exploitation and grievances continuing unabated and unredressed made violence and bloodshed inevitable in India. Mahatma Gandhi, when he took over the leadership of the national movement, was quite aware of the latent violence in the explosive agrarian situation in India. His unique weapons unified the people of India in their resistance to British imperialism. It abjured force and violence and yet led the people forward from passive submission to mass resistance.

Peaceful change and transformation was always the fondest wish and desire of Mahatma Gandhi, and the entire development of Congress economic concepts in later years was conditioned by it.

In the years following the brutal suppression of the Non-Cooperation Movement of 1921, the Congress increasingly came to express the will of Indian people to freedom. The realisation at the time was growing that freedom for India meant freedom not only from foreign yoke but also freedom from the exploitation of Indian capitalists and landlords. Nor could it be otherwise. India has been and is principally an agrarian country. Even when we industrialise, our industry will have to spend on raw materials which our agriculture would be able to supply. The growth of factory industry would be possible only on condition that the internal markets are developed and that the wealth and prosperity of the peasantry increases. And it would have been impossible to dream of removing the mighty British rulers from India and successfully win our freedom without winning over the peasantry.

This consciousness was increasingly dawning upon the national ranks and was helped by leftist leaders like Shri Jawaharlal Nehru and Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose. Shri Nehru had visited the Soviet Union in 1927 and on return from there had written a number of articles in the Indian press which had drawn the attention of the people to socialism. The Naujawan Bharat Sabha Movement of the late twenties and the working class strikes in Bombay, Calcutta, etc., the G.I.P. Railway workers' strike, as also the heroic martyrdom of Ram Prasad Bismil, Ashfaqullah, Chandra Shekhar Azad, Sardar Bhagat Singh and his group of valiant young men had all increasingly radicalised national thinking.

All these factors found a concrete expression in a resolution of the All India Congress Committee at Bombay on May 24-25, 1929. The resolution said :

"In the opinion of this Committee the great poverty and the misery of the Indian people is due not only to foreign exploitation in India but also to the economic structure of society which the alien rulers support so that their exploitation may continue. In order, therefore, to remove this poverty and misery and to ameliorate the condition of the Indian masses, it is essential to make revolutionary changes in the present economic and social structure of society and to remove the gross inequalities."

This resolution of May, 1929, little known though it is, may be said to be the first authoritative voice of the Congress carrying within it the seeds of a socialistic orientation of Congress programme. There is to be found for the first time a pointed reference to the "economic structure" of society, implying the exploitation of the masses by Indian vested interests and calling for "revolutionary changes" in the "economic and social structure of society".

The historic Lahore Congress, meeting soon after, adopted the resolution on Complete Independence. The idol of young India, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, presided over this Congress and in his presidential address he pointedly pleaded for socialism. The Independence Pledge mentioned of the "burdens on the masses", and while proclaiming India's will to freedom, at the same time left no doubt that the freedom also implies removal of exploiting burdens on the people.

When on March 2, 1930, Mahatma Gandhi sent his ultimatum to the then Viceroy, Lord Irwin, before launching the Civil Disobedience Movement, he again made pointed reference to the "ryot" who "has remained as hopeless as ever" and wanted that the "ryot's good" be made the "primary concern."

Again, at the London Round Table Conference in 1931, Mahatma Gandhi in a historic declaration made it clear that the Congress represented above all the "dumb semi-starved millions scattered over the length and breadth of the land", and unequivocally said that in case a conflict arose, "the Congress will sacrifice every interest for the sake of the interests of these dumb millions".

It becomes thus clear that by now the Congress had completely identified itself with the interest of the toiling masses of India. It was inevitable, therefore, that this identification should lead to a more concrete definition of the type of set-up under which the Congress objective could be attained.

This occasion came when the Congress met at Karachi in its annual session in 1931, in the interregnum between Gandhi-Irwin Truce and the revival of the Civil Disobedience Movement in 1932. Famous as the Resolution on Fundamental Rights, and moved by Mahatma Gandhi himself, this policy declaration of the Congress is a landmark in the advance of the national movement towards a socialistic objective. The resolution said in its preamble :

“This Congress is of opinion that to enable the masses to appreciate what “Swaraj” as conceived by the Congress will mean to them, it is desirable to state the position of the Congress in a manner easily understood by them. In order to end the exploitation of the masses, political freedom must include real economic freedom of the starving millions.”

With this end in view, the Resolution demanded that any constitution in a “Swaraj Government” must provide certain fundamental rights, e.g., freedom of association, speech, press, etc., and equal rights to all citizens, adult suffrage, free primary education.

It was in fact a very comprehensive resolution and while adopting it, the Karachi Congress gave the right to the All India Congress Committee to give it the final shape after discussion by the A.I.C.C. This was done by the A.I.C.C. at its meeting at Bombay in August, 1931. We give below those clauses of the Resolution as it finally emerged at Bombay which deal with the economic reorganisation of society :

“2. (a) The organisation of economic life must conform to the principle of justice, to the end that it may secure a decent standard of living.

“(b) The State shall safeguard the interests of industrial workers and shall secure for them by suitable legislation and in other ways, a living wage, healthy conditions of work, limited hours of labour, suitable machinery for the settlement of disputes between employers and workmen, and protection against

economic consequences of old age, sickness and unemployment.

- "3. Labour to be freed from serfdom and conditions bordering on serfdom.
- "4. Protection of women workers, and, especially, adequate provision for leave during maternity period.
- "5. Children of school-going age shall not be employed in mines and factories."

The above clauses deal with the rights of the industrial and other working classes. Those clauses of the Resolution dealing with the peasant problem are given below :

- "7. The system of land tenure and revenue and rent shall be reformed and an equitable adjustment made of the burden on agricultural land, immediately giving relief to the smaller peasantry, by a substantial reduction of agricultural rent and revenue now paid by them, and in case of uneconomical holdings, exempting them from rent so long as necessary, with such relief as be just and necessary to holders of small estates affected by such exemption or reduction in rent, and to the same end, imposing a graded tax on net incomes from and above a reasonable minimum.
- "16. Relief of agricultural indebtedness and control of unsury, direct and indirect".

The following clauses of the Resolution having a bearing on socialistic regularisation of social organisation would also be relevant :

- "8. Death duties on a graduated scale shall be levied on property above a fixed minimum.
- "15. The State shall own or control key industries and services, mineral resources, railways, waterways, shipping, and other means of public transport".

In between the First and Second Civil Disobedience Movements of 1930 and 1932, the effect of the Great Depression of 1929 began to tell disastrously on the Indian economy. And so, as the Movement developed, economic factors came into play. Congress policies were adjusted accordingly, and the Congress headed and championed some of the greatest organised peasant battles known to Indian history, such as the No-Rent Movements in Uttar Pradesh and Gujarat.

The Movements were nevertheless crushed by the might of British police and army, and the lakhs of Congress workers behind prison bars, in a fit of depression, carried on intense introspection and heart-searching : What was the way forward ? In the 1930-32 period, the prisons all over India were converted, so to say, into debating clubs of Congressmen. What is wrong with our Movement ? What is the nature of the freedom we are fighting for ? Whose freedom ? What type this freedom ?

This intense debate convinced the vast masses of Congressmen that freedom for India should mean not only freedom from foreign yoke, but also economic freedom for the toiling masses. The thinking was definitely socialistic. It is true that a small minority then constituted itself as the Congress Socialist Party, but in reality the socialist trend was present in the entire Congress and was not the exclusive trend of the C.S.P.

In fact, this inner heart-searching and introspection of Congressmen, and the broad conclusions they had reached, was brilliantly reflected in Shri Jawaharlal Nehru's pamphlet *Whither India ?*, which he published in 1934. This pamphlet is of historic significance in so far as it gave a definite socialist orientation to the entire thinking of the Congress.

The national movement was thus set thinking on defining its concept of freedom. A significant step towards the formulation of a far-reaching programme for the peasantry was a Kisan Conference held at Allahabad in 1935 under the presidentship of late Sardar Patel. The programme demanded the abolition of the zamindari system, the wiping out of all arrears of rent and debt, security of tenure, etc.

The Congress met in its annual session at Lucknow in March, 1936, under the Presidentship of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru. This session is important in so far as it oriented Congress policy on the international question and may be said to lay down the basis of India's socialistic foreign policy of non-alignment and peace with all countries which we are practicing today.

From the economic policy point of view, the Lucknow Congress took a major step in calling all Pradesh Congress Committees to study the land question and submit their reports for consideration by the next Congress session. In his presidential address, Nehru drew pointed attention to the land question in India. In view of the fact, however, that land is the basis of the

systems differed not only from province to province but were different in the same province, the Lucknow Congress decided that before drawing up a comprehensive agrarian programme, different Provincial Congress Committees be asked to submit detailed reports on agrarian conditions in the areas under their jurisdiction. This was no doubt a difficult task, but the Provincial Congress organisations of Maharashtra, Gujarat, Nagpur, Karnataka, Ajmer and U.P. submitted very informative reports.

Mention may be made here in particular of the report submitted by U.P. Congress Committee. The Chairman of this Committee was late Rajarshi Purushottam Das Tandon, a great champion of the Kisan cause and leader of many heroic Kisan battles, and its secretary was late Prime Minister, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, who at that time was also the General Secretary of the U.P. Congress Committee. A document of remarkable ability, concise and concrete, it will remain as an example of late Shastriji's quiet but thorough ways of work. Prepared entirely on the basis of investigations carried out by Congressmen and Congress organisational units, brimming with facts, and embodying the findings of Congressmen with experience of long years of work among the masses, this document revealing Shastriji's draftsmanship is at the same time a greater charter for Kisan rights. It called for an immediate end to subdivision of holdings below 5 acres, exemption from rent and revenue of uneconomic holdings, complete cancellation of debts of poor peasants, reduction of irrigation rates by half, provision of sufficient pasture land for grazing cattle, conferment of security of tenure, etc., and abolition of the Zamindari system.

Late Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri's this Report, indeed, became the background for the famous Faizpur Agrarian Programme.

This next Congress session met at Faizpur in 1937, again under the Presidentship of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru. It considered the reports submitted by the Pradesh Congress Committees and adopted a comprehensive resolution on agrarian programme. The full text of the Resolution is reproduced below:

"The Congress is convinced that the final solution of the agrarian problem involves the removal of British imperialistic exploitation and a radical change in the antiquated and repressive land tenure and revenue system. It feels, however, that the deepening crisis has made the burden on the peasantry an intolerable

one and immediate relief is called for. Pending the framing of an All-India Agrarian Programme, therefore, the following steps are necessary :

“1. Rent and revenue should be readjusted having regard to the present conditions and there should be substantial reduction in both.

“2. Uneconomic holdings should be exempted from rent or land-tax.

“3. Agricultural incomes should be assessed to income tax like all other incomes, on progressive scale, subject to a prescribed minimum.

“4. Canal and other irrigation rates should be substantially lowered.

“5. All feudal dues and levies and forced labour should be abolished, and demands other than rent should be made illegal.

“6. Fixity of tenure with heritable rights along with the rights to build houses and plant trees should be provided for all tenants.

“7. All effort should be made to introduce cooperative farming.

“8. The crushing burden of rural debt should be removed. Special tribunals should be appointed to inquire into this; and all debts, which are unconscionable or beyond the capacity of peasants to pay, should be liquidated. Meanwhile, a moratorium should be declared and steps should be taken to provide cheap credit facilities.

“9. Arrears of rent for previous years should generally be wiped out.

“10. Common pasture lands should be provided, and the rights of the people in tanks, wells, ponds, forests and the like should be recognised and no encroachment on these rights should be permitted.

“11. Arrears of rents should be recoverable in the same manner as civil debts and not by ejectment.

“12. There should be statutory provision for securing a living wage and suitable working conditions for agricultural labourers.

“13. Peasant unions should be recognised”.

The Karachi Congress Resolution on Fundamental Rights and the Faizpur Resolution on Agrarian Programme may be said to be the most important and significant economic policy declarations of pre-Independence Congress.

of national economic life. Shri Jawaharlal Nehru has expressed himself at length on the aspect of national planning in his *Discovery of India* written in prison after his detention in August, 1942. In later years, the Congress went on record expressing its appreciation of the work of the National Planning Committee and Prof. Shah, but it is obvious it could not formally adopt all that was written and produced.

Nevertheless, the labours of the National Planning Committee have in them the blue-prints for a socialistic orientation of Indian economy which no doubt influenced the thinking of our planners when free India launched its programme of national planning with the formation of the Planning Commission in 1950-51.

THE national struggle for independence was crowned with success in 1947 and India became free.

While grappling with post-independence problems, Prime Minister Nehru, and the Congress, never for a moment lost sight of the basic urges behind our great struggle for independence, the urge to root out the poverty and nakedness of our people and build a new India. At its very first meeting after independence, the All India Congress Committee, in November, 1947, at New Delhi, gave top priority to the question of economic freedom. The resolution on Congress Objectives adopted by this meeting is of lasting import and significance as it is the first spelling out of the aims of the Congress for India after the achievement of the great task of India's independence. This resolution is of historic significance and points out unmistakably to the socialistic content of Congress objectives, even though the word as such came to be used seven years later. As such, this Resolution deserves full quotation :

"Political independence having been achieved, the Congress must address itself to the next great task, namely, the establishment of real democracy in the country and a society based on social justice and equality. Such a society must provide every man and woman with equality of opportunity and freedom to work for the unfettered development of his or her personality. This can only be realised when democracy extends from the political to the social and economic spheres. Democracy in the modern age necessitates planned central direction as well as decentralisation of political and economic power in so far as this is compatible with the safety

of the State, with efficient production and the cultural progress of the community as a whole. The smallest territorial unit should be able to exercise effective control over its corporate life by means of popularly elected Panchayats. In so far as it is possible, national and regional economic self-sufficiency in the essentials of life should be aimed at. In the case of industries, which in their nature must be run on a large-scale and on centralised basis, they should be so organised that workers become not only co-sharers in the profits but are also increasingly associated with the management and administration of the industry. Land, with its mineral resources, and all other means of production as well as distribution and exchange must belong to and be controlled by the community in its interest."

It should be clear that the Congress was at this time already engaged in the job of evolving a pattern of new social organisation suited to Indian conditions and consistent with the principles of Indian National Congress. This becomes abundantly clear from the second para of this historic Resolution :

"Our aim should be to evolve a political system which will combine efficiency of administration with individual liberty, and an economic structure which will yield maximum production without the operation of private monopolies and concentration of wealth and which will create proper balance between urban and rural economies. *Such a social structure can provide an alternative to the acquisitive economy of private capitalism and the regimentation of a totalitarian state*".

With a view to draw up an economic programme for the Congress in accordance with these principles, the A.I.C.C. appointed a high-level committee with Shri Jawaharlal Nehru as Chairman. *The Report of the Congress Economic Programme Committee* conceived in Shri Nehru's great mind laid down the blue-print for India's future path of development. All the plans and other schemes and policies, which have since been worked and implemented in India, have their roots in this *Report* of a Committee over which Shri Nehru presided and gave his profound impress.

The *Report* begins with the "Aims and Objectives" of the economic programme and the goal that we should achieve. It emphasised that the fuller utilisation of our

especially on land and in rural industries, "should be the aim of the nation's economic activity"; also "all schemes and measures of the State should be so designed as to obtain the maximum utilisation of material and man-power resources of the nation".

Of particular importance is the following passage in the Section on "Aims and Objectives."

"To establish a just social order and to raise the standard of living of the people, it is necessary to bring about equitable distribution of the existing income and wealth and prevent the growth of disparities in this respect with the progress of industrialisation in the country. In the process of eliminating disparities, prior consideration should be given to the income-groups farthest removed from the national minimum."

And further, "A ceiling for incomes should be fixed, which should not exceed 40 times the national minimum need, the primary needs of food, clothing, etc. The upper limit should be brought down by successive steps to 20 times the minimum. Such a minimum should be determined from time to time in relation to the cost of living and productive efficiency of the people".

In the second section on "Agriculture", the Committee called for the "elimination" of "all intermediaries between the tiller and the State" and said that "all middlemen should be replaced by non profit-making agencies, such as cooperatives".

Para 8 of the Section on "Agriculture" said :

"The State should organise pilot schemes for experimenting with cooperative farming among small holders and should set up cooperative colonies on Government unoccupied but cultivable lands, and should also directly own and run farms for purposes of experiment and demonstration".

Para 12 of this section says :

"Land should be held for use and as a source of employment. The use of lands of those who are either non-cultivating landholders or otherwise unable for any period to exercise the right of cultivating them, must come to vest in the village cooperative community".

Para 13 said

"The maximum size of holding should be fixed. The surplus land over such a maximum should be acquired

and placed at the disposal of the village cooperatives. Small holdings should be consolidated and steps taken to prevent further fragmentation”.

Section Two on “Agriculture” has in all 20 paras and they deal with aspects of improved agriculture through irrigation projects, better seeds, etc., the emphasis always being on giving the widest possible powers to Village Panchayats and cooperatives for the management of village affairs.

Section Third of the *Report* on “Village and Cottage Industries” advocated a programme for this sector with a view “to reach the national minimum standard of living, which should ensure a balanced diet, sufficient clothing, and living accommodation to every family”. It also said that “the small-scale and cottage industries should be promoted on non-profit lines through industrial cooperative societies...”. For these cooperatives a federal structure was visualised, consisting of primary societies, their regional unions and associations, and the apex federation. Para 5 of this Section said : “No State aid should be given to an individual except through his cooperative society”. The *Report* also recommended that for new and developing village industries, “loans and subsidies of the Government should be made available through the cooperative structure.”

Section Four of the *Report* deals with ‘Industry’. While laying down that nation’s industrialisation should aim at providing regional self-sufficiency to all types of industries and care should be taken about location of new industrial enterprises, the *Report* calls for “control of investment and licensing of new undertakings”. Also that, “New undertakings in defence, key and public utility industries should be started under public ownership”. (para 6).

The following stipulation of para (6) is even more pronouncedly socialistic :

“New undertakings which are in the nature of monopolies or in view of their scale of operations serve the country as a whole or cover more than one province should be run on the basis of public ownership”.

Furthermore, the *Report* provides for the transfer to public ownership of existing industries. This para (7) also deserves full quotation :

"In respect of existing undertakings the process of transfer from private to public ownership should commence after a period of five years. In special cases, a competent body after proper examination, can decide on an earlier transfer."

Of particular importance is what the *Report* says about Managing Agencies : "In private industry the existing system of Managing Agency should be abolished as early as possible". And further : "Private industry should be subject to all such regulations and controls as are needed for the realisation of the objective of national policy in the matter of industrial development."

Para 13 of this Section gives concretely how private industrial profit should be taxed to prevent accumulation of wealth in a few hands.

Para 14 calls for nationalisation of banking and insurance.

This historic *Report of the Economic Programme Committee*, which had Nehru as its Chairman, has not used the word "Socialist" as such, but it is clear that the pattern the Congress visualised for free India is definitely socialistic. This *Report* was approved by the Congress at its Jaipur Session in December, 1948.

Yet another historic work of the Congress in the immediate post-Independence years was the pattern it laid down for Indian agriculture. India has been an agricultural country and land has been and is its greatest problem. Any scheme of social transformation of Indian life has of necessity to lay down a pattern for its agricultural reorganisation.

This Committee submitted its *Report* in July 1949 and received the general approval of the Congress Working Committee. Before its final recommendations, the Committee toured all over India and made a very thorough investigation. It has been hailed all round as a monumental document of great ability and profundity and has influenced all thinking and work on the land question since.

This work was entrusted by the then Congress President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, to a high-level Committee of administrators and economists headed by the late eminent Gandhian economist, Dr. J.C. Kumarappa. Famous as the Congress Agrarian Reforms Committee, it was appointed by Dr. Rajendra Prasad in early 1948 following the unanimous recommendation of a Con-

ference of Revenue Ministers of States in December, 1947. This would indicate the importance and authority of this Committee.

The Committee's recommendations cover all aspects of the land question. It called for abolition of landed parasitism and genuine rights for the actual tiller. For the purposes of our discussion, however, we would look into the pattern of agrarian economy recommended by the Committee.

The Committee laid down certain main principles which should govern the agrarian policy of the country". These, *inter alia*, desired that the new pattern should provide for the growth of farmers' personality, and should have 'no scope for exploitation of one class by another."

As for the "mode of farming", the Committee recommended a varied pattern including individual, cooperative, collective and State farming. It went on to say that the State should be empowered to enforce the application of varying degrees of cooperation for different types of farming. For example, while persons with viable economic units of land should have multi-purpose cooperative society for marketing, credit, etc., those with uneconomic unit of cultivation should have joint or cooperative farming.

It would thus follow that in the most considered work on the land question soon after independence, the Congress has recommended a socialistic set-up. Joint or Cooperative cultivation for uneconomic units, which formed nearly 85-90% of the land-holdings in India after independence, means clearly that the pattern visualised was cooperative farming. Besides, collective farming was recommended for landless labourers on newly reclaimed lands, and also State Farming, which are well-known modes of a socialistic agriculture.

levels, adopted an Immediate Programme based largely on past policies and declarations of the Congress.

The Resolution of the Conference on Objectives said at the very outset :

“The Congress has declared the establishment of a democratic classless society in a non-violent and peaceful manner as its ultimate objective.”

Soon after the First General Election of independent India came up in 1951-52. Having settled a policy, the Congress kept on reiterating them at the Nasik Congress in 1950, Delhi Congress in 1951, Hyderabad Congress in January, 1953, and the Kalyani Congress in January, 1954.

By this time the Planning Commission had worked for a few years and the First Plan had entered its fourth year of implementation. These few years since the initial policy declarations in 1948, 1949 and 1950, had enabled the Congress to understand that the new programme had been welcomed by the nation. The experience of three years of planning had also enriched the Congress. The stage was thus set for a further advance.

This occasion came at the Avadi Session of the Congress in January, 1955, held under the Presidentship of Shri U.N. Dhebar. This Avadi Congress will ever remain a historic landmark in the evolution of Congress policy towards the socialist objective.

The famous Avadi Resolution said :

“In order to realise the object of the Congress as laid down in Article I of the Congress Constitution and to further the objectives stated in the Preamble and Directive Principles of State Policy of the Constitution of India, planning should take place with a view to the establishment of Socialistic Pattern of Society, where the principal means of production are under social ownership or control, production is progressively speeded up, and there is equitable distribution of the national wealth.”

After the Avadi Resolution on Socialist Pattern was adopted, Shri Nehru pointed out, “It was not really, in a sense, a change of policy because for a long time past, I should say a quarter of a century, and in a sense ever since Gandhiji came to the Congress, outlook of the Congress was, broadly speaking, socialist.... I am merely mentioning this to show that for the

Congress to decide on Socialist Pattern is not as if there has been a big jump into a new place. It was a very natural thinking today, in keeping with our traditions, to give this element of precision to our future work, specially to our planning.”

Avadi thus came to be a landmark in the long history of the Congress, and is epoch-making in its impact on the Indian scene. The Congress call at Avadi roused all patriotic hearts in India and gave great joy to the masses and the youth of the nation. It made crystal clear the path lying before us. It was a clarion call to India to hue out its way on the lines laid down by our entire past history and our national movement.

Clarification and Concretisation

THE historic decision at Avadi was something which Shri Nehru had forecast as early as 1936 in his Presidential address at Lucknow Congress. Stating his conviction that the only key to the resolution of problems besetting the world was socialism, he declared that socialism was something more than an economic doctrine. It is a philosophy of life. He saw no way of ending the poverty, the worst employment, the degradation and the subjection of the Indian people except through 'Socialism'. It involved vast revolutionary changes in India's political and industrial structure and the ending of vested interests in land and industry, as well as the feudal and autocratic Indian states. It meant the ending of private property and the replacement of the profit motive by a higher ideal of co-operative service. It meant ultimately a change in instincts, habits and desires. In short, it meant a new civilisation, radically different from the present capitalist order.

Referring to U.S.S.R., Shri Nehru said that it presented a fascinating unfolding of a new order and a promising future in the present dismal age.

He stated that every country would fashion 'Socialism' after its own way that fitted with its national genius.

He further stated that he worked for Indian independence because the nationalist in him could not tolerate alien domination ; he worked for it even more because for him it was the inevitable step to social and economic change. He would like the Congress to become a Socialist organisation and join hands with the other forces in the world, who were working for the new civilisation. He hoped he would be able to convert the Congress and the country to his view-point in course of time.

Shri Nehru's this hope found fulfilment at Avadi. Patiently and assiduously, by the shining example of his life of self-sacrifice and suffering, by his tolerance and understanding, by the deep sincerity and abounding love for India and high intellectualism, propelled ever by his great sense of history and unshakable faith in the forces inexorably moulding the future of human society, with full confidence in India's high destiny, and undismayed by criticisms directed against him by some "Communist" intellectuals accusing him of being 'a tailist of the Indian bourgeoisie' (Rajani Palme Dutt of Britain and others), Shri Nehru persisted in his great life's mission and finally triumphed at Avadi.

The blue-print of the Avadi decision was really drawn at Jaipur Congress in 1948. This was the first Session of the Congress after independence and it modified Article I of the Congress Constitution to read as follows :

"The object of the Indian National Congress is the well-being and the advancement of the people of India and the establishment in India by peaceful and legitimate means of a cooperative commonwealth, based on equality of opportunity and of political, economic and social rights and aiming at world peace and fellowship".

This Constitution laid emphasis on the concept of co-operative Commonwealth instead of using the word 'Socialism' in this particular Article. In their interpretation of this Article, the promoters pointed out that the Constitution had been revised keeping in view the new objective, namely, the political, social and economic emancipation of the poverty-stricken masses of India. It was made obvious that the achievement of the objective, as laid down in the Constitution would really bring message of hope to the suffering millions of India, and that the early declaration of the Congress would be now put into effect by working for a socialist order of society.

While increasingly tilting Congress policies towards a socialistic consummation, the leadership ever laid emphasis on democracy and democratic ways of effecting changes in Indian society. After Jaipur, the most outstanding event was the launching of the First Five Year Plan in 1951.

It was a very important occasion requiring clarification and Shri Nehru offered this in his usual lucid way. Speaking in the

larger sense, his was an integrated way of looking at a nation's manifold activities. In a democracy things were built on a firm foundation, even though it might take longer time. India has accepted a democratic set-up. The people had to keep in view the great ambition to progress rapidly. India should not try to reproduce conditions which obtained elsewhere. She represented various principles and she was expected to hold to them.

Shri Nehru further said that the main objective must be to put an end to all differences of class or a caste and to bring about more equality. All should have to think in terms of ultimately developing into a classless society. It was a matter of urgent necessity to re-fashion the economy and social structure so that they might promote the happiness of all people in things, material and spiritual. He stated. "We have to aim deliberately at a social philosophy which seeks a fundamental transformation of this structure, at a society which is not dominated by the urge for private profit and by individual greed and in which there is fair distribution of political and economic power. We must aim at a classless society based on co-operative efforts with opportunities for all."

The Avadi Resolution on Socialistic Pattern, it would be seen, was adopted to "realise the object of the Congress as laid down in Article I of the Congress Constitution."

Commending this resolution Shri Nehru had said : "At no stage in the history of the freedom struggle have we been thinking of mere political freedom. All the time, the content of freedom also grew before us. All the time, we thought of the economic aspect. We thought of the workers and peasant, the under-dog, the down-trodden, and the disinherited in India. The freedom struggle gained its own social and economic content and now the time has come when we should march forward in this direction. We declared openly what we have often said, that the type of society we aim at is the Socialistic Pattern of Society and that society will be in keeping with Indian genius."

He further said : "We want a Welfare State. We cannot have a 'Socialist Pattern' without a Welfare State. I do not use the word 'Socialism' in the stereotyped sense ; we have to use that word to convey our own ideas and we have to develop our own variety of socialism. We are not going to have socialism by resolution or decree. We can get it only by hard work. We cannot

have a Welfare State in India with all the socialism and communism in the world, unless our national income goes up. It is not a question of distributing the wealth of a few rich men here and there. We must produce well and divide equitably. Our economic policy must, therefore, be aimed at plenty”.

It would thus be seen that while taking a firm stand on socialistic objective, the Congress from the very beginning made a clear demarcation from dogmatic attitudes, avoiding having “socialism” by ‘decree’. The emphasis was on developing ‘our own variety of socialism’. All hair-splitting discussions on “Socialist Pattern” and “Welfare State” were avoided.

After Avadi, the sixty-first session of the Congress met at Amritsar in 1956, again under the presidentship of Shri U.N. Dhebar. Before this session, and following Avadi, two significant steps had been taken towards the evolution of a socialist structure. These were : (i) conversion of the Imperial Bank of India into a public-owned and public managed State Bank ; and (ii) the nationalisation of Life Insurance business in India.

The Amritsar Congress hailed these steps and while reviewing the progress registered in the country during the First Five Year Plan, which was then nearing its end, it gave the call for a “rapid progress of industrialisation” laying “special stress” on “the development of industry of basic importance”, such as, steel, heavy-machine building industries, coal and heavy chemicals.

Of particular importance in the Amritsar Resolution is the emphasis on the development of cooperatives and cooperation in various sectors of our economic life. It would be relevant here to quote in full Para 10 of the Amritsar Resolution :

“The Organisation of industry, commerce and agriculture should be increasingly on a cooperative basis. Industrial cooperatives should be encouraged in decentralised industry. In view of the distribution of land among a large number of small holders, agrarian cooperatives for various purposes are necessary and should be fully encouraged. It may be desirable to have different types of such agrarian cooperatives to suit different conditions. The programme of land reforms in which considerable progress has already been made, should be carried forward vigorously, keeping in view especially the problem of landless labour. The system of local authorities

tration, particularly through the panchayats, should be strengthened. The participation of workers in the administration of industry should be progressively increased”.

At the next Session of the Congress held at Indore in January, 1957, again under the presidentship of Shri U.N. Dhebar, it was pointed out that a change in Article I of the Congress Constitution was called for in view of the resolution adopted at Avadi regarding “Socialistic Pattern of Socceity”. The word “Socialist” was, therefore, added before the word “Cooperative Commonwealth”.

In this connection, Shri Nehru said, “I look upon socialism as a growing, a dynamic concept, as something which is not rigid : as something which must fit in with the changing condition of the human life and the achievements in the country. I should like to stress on one thing—that the whole of the capitalist structure is based on some kind of acquisitive society. A socialist society must try to get rid of this tendency and replace it by co-operation. *The question before us is how to combine democracy with socialism through peaceful and legitimate measures.* That is the problem India has set before itself.”

The dream of Shri Nehru of taking Congress along with him towards socialism was thus steadily realised. Through these different processes, the Congress mind was being prepared and instead of finding itself involved in doctrinaire technicalities, a healthy attitude was slowly building up.

The 63rd session of the Congress met at Gauhati in 1958. The Gauhati Resolution on Land Reforms particularly emphasised the extension of cooperation and cooperatives in agriculture and rural life.

The Gauhati Resolution said in its Para 4 :

“The goal of land reforms should be a cooperative rural economy based on the village community and voluntary association. The principles of co-operation should be applied to agriculture and village industries alike, and for this purpose multi-purpose village co-operatives should be formed. These co-operatives should not only provide credit, but also supplies and market facilities and other needs of the villagers. The size of the co-operative should not be too large and should be such as to enable the members to participate in its work effectively. The co-operatives should be essentially

non-official and should aim at the development of self-reliance and self-dependence and the spirit of co-operative self-help. Where possible, joint co-operative farming should also be introduced with the consent of the cultivators concerned."

The next (sixty-fourth) session of the Congress at Nagpur in 1959 under Smt. Indira Gandhi's presidentship is of historic importance in the matter of clarification of the socialist objective of the Congress. The comprehensive Resolution of the Congress on Planning may in fact be regarded as an essay on problems confronting India in relation to socialistic planning for a peaceful transition to a democratic socialist society.

The Resolution said that the experience of the First and the Second Plans had shown that the present rate of investment is too small in relation to the needs of the country and pointed out that "the task of finding more and fuller fruitful employment depends to a great extent on the ability to achieve a sufficiently high rate of capital formation or investment". The Resolution accordingly went on to suggest measures for mobilisation of resources and direction of nation's economy on such lines as to ensure the desired result. Among the steps suggested were :

- “(i) Public enterprises and State trading should be conducted so as to yield additional resources for public purposes.
- (ii) Imports should be strictly controlled and non-essential goods should not be imported. Import duties should be raised wherever possible. Imports and exports should be coordinated to prevent accumulation of commitments which lead to undue pressure on foreign exchange.
- (iii) Expansion of Life Insurance and other institutions engaged in stimulating and collecting savings.
- (iv) Patterns of production should be so adjusted as to supply essential needs of the people.
- (v) Wages and salaries should be increasingly dependent on work done and on production and should be in relation to the conditions existing in India. Profits in the private sector should also be controlled.
- (vi) The construction of large or expensive buildings, whether for public or private purposes, should be discouraged except for such public structures as are considered absolutely essential for the plan. Equipment for these build-

ings should also avoid items of luxury. The specifications laid down for public buildings should be simpler.

- (vii) While steps should be taken to see that prices do not rise any further, it is necessary that agricultural incomes do not fall with an increase in output. It is essential for providing incentives for increased production in the agricultural sector that increased output also leads to increased income."

The Resolution said in the end : "The creation of a democratic and socialist society should be clearly and unambiguously placed before the nation as the objective of planning, and all the implications of socialism in terms of the individual and co-operative effort it requires should be clearly explained to the people".

The Nagpur Congress also adopted a Resolution on "Agrarian Organisational Pattern". This comprehensive Resolution may be said to have spelt out with clarity the Congress concept of evolving an agrarian pattern consistently with its socialist objective based on village panchayats and village cooperatives. The Resolution said :

"The organisation of the village should be based on village panchayats and village cooperatives, both of which should have adequate powers and resources to discharge the functions allotted to them. A number of village cooperatives may form themselves into a union. All permanent residents of the village whether owning land or not, should be eligible for membership of the village cooperative which should promote the welfare of its members by introducing progressive farming methods and improved techniques of cultivation, developing animal husbandry and fishery and encouraging cottage industries. In addition to providing credit and discharging other servicing functions it will arrange for pooling and marketing the agricultural produce of the farmers and storage and godown facilities for them. Both the panchayat and the cooperative should be the spearheads of all developmental activities in the village and, more especially, should encourage intensive farming with a view to raising the per acre yield of agricultural produce."

Of great significance is the clear stand of the Nagpur Congress on Cooperative Joint Farming. The Resolution said :

"The future agrarian pattern should be that of cooperative joint farming in which the land will be pooled for joint cultivation, the farmers continuing to retain their property rights, and getting a share from the net produce in proportion to their land. Further, those who actually work on the land, whether they owned the land or not, will get a share in proportion to the work put in by them on the joint farm.

"As a first step, prior to the institution of joint farming, service coopeartives should be organised throughout the country. This stage should be completed within a period of three years. Even within this period, however, wherever possible and generally agreed to by the farmers, joint cultivation may be started."

The Patna Congress adopted the Election Manifesto of the Congress for the Third General Elections in India. The Manifesto said in Para 9 :

“Thus India entered a new era, the greatest period of transformation in her history. This involved not only political changes but basic social and economic changes and, above all, a transformation of a caste and faction-ridden backward society into a unified and integrated community, rapidly marching towards economic prosperity and higher standards for her vast population. This meant changing semi-feudal and traditional methods of production and distribution and introducing modern methods in line with the development of science and technology. It meant the establishment of a technologically mature society in the framework of a socialist economy which gave the benefits of this advance to all. It meant not only an adherence to the ethical and moral principles which had always been India’s past background, but the introduction of new social values and incentives and the development of a sense of common interest and obligation among all sections of the community.”

The Great Debate : Jaipur to Bhubaneswar

WITH the message of the Congress Election Manifesto adopted at Patna, Congressmen all over India went to the people to seek their endorsement for the socialist programme of their organisation through their votes in the Third General Election.

The people gave their verdict in no uncertain terms. For the third time in succession the Congress won an overwhelming majority in the Lok Sabha. Barring elections for six seats in the hilly areas, it captured 353 seats in a House of 494. The total number of seats captured by the Congress in State Assemblies came to 1,768 out of a total of 2,855 (excluding Jammu and Kashmir).

Congress majorities were no doubt reduced compared to the earlier elections, but the people nevertheless had spoken in a clearcut voice admitting of no ambiguity. By their electoral verdict the people of India showed that they stood behind the socialist programme of the Congress based on land reforms, cooperativisation, industrialisation and planning, as also the foreign policy of peace, non-alignment and friendship with all countries.

The next meeting of the A.I.C.C. after Patna Congress, at New Delhi on June, 5, 6, 1962, adopted a resolution on the General Elections. The Indian National Congress placed before the electorate, said the resolution, its goal of democratic socialist society and its attainment through a planned economy. And the resolution stated : "By and large the nation has endorsed this programme of the Congress." In his opening remarks,

Congress President, Shri N. Sanjiva Reddy, while expressing satisfaction at the results, said that they would have been more spectacular if there had been no dissensions in the Congress.

Indeed, it was accepted all round that the people of India, wide awake and observant, had on the one hand, by voting Congress back to power, endorsed the socialist programme of the Congress; and, on the other, by clipping the Congress of its earlier majority, expressed their disapproval of Congress internal dissensions as also their displeasure of slow implementation of the accepted socialist programmes of the Congress.

The Third General Election roused an increasing section of earnest and loyal Congressmen to express their concern at the organisational deterioration of the Congress and the lack of ideological clarity about Congress policies which was revealed in discordant pronouncements of persons in high positions. This section increasingly expressed itself for the concretisation of Congress policies. It found expression in the formation of Congress Forum for Socialist Action by Shri Gulzarilal Nanda.

Explaining the origin of the Forum in a letter to Shri Jawaharlal Nehru written on 15-5-1962, Shri Nandaji said: "Our progress was being hampered by disruptive trends at work in the Congress, which had to be counteracted. In respect of social ideals and objectives, there was hardly any controversy within the Congress. However, the concepts which condition and inspire socialistic measures have to be defined, explained, interpreted and reshaped as new circumstances emerge. Of still greater importance, however, is the specific content of the socialistic pattern which has to take shape in our hands. What precisely are the measures and programmes which should be sponsored immediately and at later stages?"

Shri Nanda informed Nehruji that Congressmen he had gathered "evinced enthusiasm for developing a kind of Forum for those Congressmen who were keenly devoted to the advancement of the basic ideas and practice of socialism."

In his reply, Shri Nehru said: "I was interested to read it and the conclusions arrived at the meeting. On the whole I think your suggestion is a good one."

Shri Nandaji also addressed a communication about the Congress Forum for Socialist Action to Congress President, Shri D. Sanjivayya, who had taken over the high office at the

June meeting of the A.I.C.C. from Shri Sanjiva Reddy. In his reply, Shri D. Sanjivayya said : "I am in complete agreement with you in regard to the necessity of such a Forum."

A few months after, in October, 1962, the Chinese launched their aggression against India and the entire nation stood up as one man to face the aggressors. It was, however, at the same time revealed that certain interests and groups in India, who had never taken kindly to the increasing orientation of the Congress towards socialism under Nehru's leadership, did not hesitate to utilise the situation created by Chinese aggression to launch a frontal attack on national and international policies of the Congress Government. The powerful national press controlled by such interests sought to make out that the programme of building up a strong public sector of industries should be given up in preference to private enterprise and initiative.

As against this, Shri Nehru, explained at length his strategy of 'Defence and Development' in which, while eschewing dogmas and pre-conceived notions of any kind, strongly argued in favour of providing for impregnable defence through economic development in which high priority was given to building up of key and basic industries in the public sector, and the programme of agricultural development under enlightened policies which made the actual tiller and his well-being the centre of its attention.

By the beginning of 1963, following the withdrawal of Chinese troops and relaxation in the national tension, a great debate ensued in the country, and among Congressmen, about the direction of future advance. Influential sections of Congressmen, and more particularly those who had gathered all over the country under the Congress Forum for Socialist Action founded by Shri Nanda, expressed their concern at the fact that the rate of economic growth had not gone up according to the expectations and wealth was increasingly concentrating in fewer hands. Considerable industrial capacity remained unutilised. Administration and control of services was proving ineffective leading to rise in corruption. Agricultural production was not registering the necessary progress.

Such Congressmen urged that the way out was to work relentlessly for a democratic socialist society in which agricultural production must get a very high priority and the farmer made

the owner of the soil. They advocated State trading in food-grains and other essential commodities to bring down prices, a more vigorous development of a strong public sector in the country and community's control over financial institutions such as banking and insurance.

The organisational weaknesses creeping in the Congress set the leadership thinking, and while the great debate on the future pattern of social policies was on, Shri K. Kamaraj placed forward his famous Kamaraj Plan based on high moral principles of renunciation of position of power and authority for service of the organisation and the people. A meeting of the A.I.C.C. at New Delhi in the second week of August 1963, accepted the Kamaraj Plan following which very many leadingmost leaders withdrew from Governmental positions on their own accord.

The debate on clearer policies and firm action upon them by the administration nevertheless continued and a meeting of the A.I.C.C. was called at Jaipur in the first week of November, 1964, to discuss a draft statement on "Democracy and Socialism" which was prepared by the Congress Working Committee which had become seized of the prevalent mood of Congressmen and thought it necessary to give clearer expression to policies and programmes which had already been broadly accepted by the Congress in its earlier resolutions and policy declarations.

The draft on 'Democracy and Socialism' presented to the A.I.C.C. at Jaipur was of a preliminary and tentative nature with a view to get the A.I.C.C. to debate it so that in the light of the discussions a fuller and more comprehensive statement could be presented to the next (68th) Session of the Indian National Congress scheduled to be held at Bhubneswar (Orissa) in January, 1964.

Moving the statement on 'Democracy and Socialism' at the Jaipur A.I.C.C., Shri Gulzarilal Nanda said "There can be no genuine democracy in an underdeveloped country engaged in the task of achieving a state of well-being for all if it is not based on socialist ideas which are a product of years of experience and thinking, and there is no room for any compromise on these basic issues."

Shri Nanda said that since two divergent opinions were being expressed one opposed to State making inroads in the vested interests, and the other urging drastic actions which sometimes

seemed to tend towards negation of democracy, it has become essential for the Congress to define its socialist philosophy and approach. Shri Nanda added that the State had to play a predominant role in the economic life of the country. Its intervention could not be confined to heavy industries alone. It would also enter into other large-scale economic activities including wholesale trade, both foreign and internal. The private sector had, no doubt, scope to function but it could not be given complete freedom to do things on its own and in the way it liked.

Shri Nanda made it clear that the workers who produced wealth also needed incentives. Frustration and depression amongst them would be worst. Normal economic processes were not an assurance that minimum necessities of life could be provided to common people within a reasonable time. Hence the State had to assume large responsibilities for economic activities.

Planning was an instrument of socialist construction. Material sufficiency had the first priority and could be achieved through large-scale application of science and technology.

Shri Nanda added that Congress socialism was conditioned by Gandhian tradition which upheld the virtues of voluntary co-operation. It did not mean that laws would not be made to enforce decisions when necessary.

The statement was not a full exposition on democracy and socialism, but was meant to bring into focus the basic ideas underlying the Congress approach. The process of thinking had been initiated and could crystallize at Bhubaneswar.

Once the Congress had declared a clear goal of democracy and socialism, it would "hasten our pace" of advance towards the objective.

The three ingredients of the statement were material sufficiency, individual freedom and ethical and moral values. Socialism was not distribution of poverty but a state of well-being. Science and technology were of fundamental importance and the very basis of socialism.

It might take many years before the nation reached the stage when everyone would have the essential needs. "But our strategy of development should be based on ensuring a national minimum in the country within a reasonable period".

In removing disparities and securing the welfare of the people,

Shri Nanda said, the State had to see that the less affluent sections were given food, clothing, education and health.

In realizing these aims certain approaches that were essential were planning, stress on public sector, encouragement to the cooperative method as against individual initiative and employing taxation not only to raise revenues for development but more as an instrument of social change.

Shri Nanda urged the need for greater participation by workers in management which would be an expression of the spirit of democracy and socialism. Though a good beginning had been made in this direction, the progress had not been rapid. Social services and security ought to be given a special orientation.

The administration had to be redesigned to bring about rapid social change and provide for greater decentralization.

About concentration of economic power and widening of disparities, Shri Nanda said there was no precise measurement of how far these had taken place after independence, but they were "bad enough".

Though progress through planning had not been as fast as anticipated, "things would have been far worse", especially for people at lower levels, if there had been no Plan at all.

They had to reckon with the inexorable poverty, limitation of resources for development, and backwardness in the Indian social system.

Scarcities in the country, he said, were mainly relative and were created by the pace of development. But they had to ensure that monopolistic trends did not grow and large gains were not made on account of shortages.

Changes Shri Nanda said had to be radical and rapid but against the Gandhian background and approach. In essence, the objectives corresponded to the Sarvodaya ideal though the word "Sarvodaya" was not mentioned because of its more exacting character.

In the debate which ensued at Jaipur, the general trend revealed was in favour of more concrete spelling out of policies than were expressed in the Draft under discussion. Shri Nehru, intervening in the debate, said that while the Draft went a long way, it lacked a sense of urgency. It was finally decided that the Draft be thrown open for discussion by Congressmen and Congress Committees who were advised to send their comments and memoranda on the

Jaipur Draft so that in their light a fresh Draft may be presented to the forthcoming Bhubaneswar Congress.

The great concern among Congressmen for clearer definition of objectives and policies, and for firmer and more resolute action to implement them was reflected in the large numbers of representations and memoranda which were submitted to the A.I.C.C. following Jaipur, by the various Committees of the Congress and individual Congressmen, some of the more important of which have been given as appendix to this book. They revealed the existence of a strong urge among Congressmen for more vigorous steps towards socialism through such actions as nationalisation of banks, State trading in foodgrains, far-reaching administrative reforms, and greater facilities for the farmers to provide incentives for production through land reforms and better irrigation and other facilities.

Shri K. Kamaraj, the author of the Kamaraj Plan, was elected unanimously the President of the Sixty-eighth Session of the Congress at Bhubaneswar. The election to this high office of a representative of the common man of India with a spotless record of sustained and brilliant work in the service of the Congress and the country raised great hopes in the nation. In his presidential address at Bhubaneswar, Shri Kamaraj reiterated the Congress objective of socialism and urged the need to work purposively to give better life to the poor masses of India.

Bhubaneswar was the last Congress attended by Jawaharlal Nehru. He had a stroke while the Session was on, and though he recovered and resumed work after sometime, he really never got back his health and left us in the month of May of the same year.

The Congress Working Committee presented to the subjects committee at Bhubaneswar a modified draft which became the subject of a vigorous debate. The overwhelming majority of opinions expressed in the debate revealed a strong desire among Congressmen for forward-going socialistic policies and dissatisfaction at the existing state of affairs both in the organisation and Government. Limitations of space do not permit us to describe this debate here, but of the fact that they revealed the presence of very strong socialist sentiments among Congressmen, there can be no doubt.

We give below some extracts from the Bhubaneswar Resolution on "Democracy and Socialism", which was adopted unanimously after the debate.

Economic equality : Ending of disparities: "Everyone should have equal opportunity and a just share in the fruits of progress. Privilege, disparities and exploitation should be eliminated."

"The slow growth of our economy has hitherto been due to our inability to make full use of our manpower and natural resources and this in turn is explained by our failure to take sufficient advantage of the advance in science and technology."

"It is necessary to ensure that economic development should not result in widening of disparities of income and concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment."

Minimum Standard of Living. "A National Minimum Standard : In this context, it is of the highest importance that the provision of basic needs of every individual is ensured and a national minimum comprising the essential requirements in respect of food, clothing, housing, education and health is established as speedily as possible."

"Other steps will also have to be taken so that the distance between the bottom and the top rungs is reduced in a striking manner in a reasonable period of time. These steps will be in the sphere of both policy and organization."

"It is necessary to bring about a limitation of incomes and property in private hands. This limitation should apply specially in respect of inherited wealth and urban property. The State should secure a large share of capital gains and appropriate a much larger proportion of unearned income than is being done at present."

More effective Government control over investible resources: "The Government should place itself in a position more effectively than is the case now to direct the means of credit and investible resources of the country along the lines of national priorities and our social purposes. At present small entrepreneurs and newcomers are placed under a serious disadvantage in respect of availability of financial resources. There is also need for further steps for the removal of abuses and malpractices in financial institutions."

Public, private and co-operative sectors: "As laid down in the Industrial Policy Resolution of the Government of India, the

public sector has to play a strategic and predominant role in the field of trade and industry. The public sector must grow progressively in large-scale industry and trade, particularly in the field of heavy and basic industry as well as trade in essential commodities.

Industry : In the organization of industry, while suitable incentives must be provided, the interests of the community, the consumer and the worker must be safeguarded effectively. The worker should be associated in the management of industry in a substantial way and rapid progress in this direction should be achieved. This will enable the worker to feel a sense of participation in industry and to achieve the maximum production."

Prices : "For the low income groups and the vulnerable sections of the community, the price level is a matter of vital concern. A rise in prices is usually not compensated by an equivalent increase in income in most cases. While the main stress has to be on taking all possible steps to increase production, when shortages develop, steps have to be taken to prevent exploitation of the conditions of scarcity."

Agricultural Production : "In an agricultural country like India the structure of the agricultural economy, agrarian relations and law are matters of vital concern."

"The community through suitable agencies should assume full responsibility for timely provision of the means, material and other facilities needed for the farmer for increasing production to the maximum extent."

Take-over of Rice Mills : "Adequate price should be paid to the farmers for his produce to enable him to make the needed investment and put in all the effort he is capable of to raise progressively the level of production from land."

"Processing of agricultural produce, specially paddy, should not remain in private hands. Rice mills and other processing units should be operated under co-operative management and till it is feasible to do so in all cases, the State itself should progressively take over the operation of such units."

"Marketing of all agricultural produce should to the utmost extent possible be through the agency of cooperatives. These are amongst the steps needed to obviate the excessive margin of middleman and to help to ensure a fair line for the producer as well as the consumer."

Land Policy : "The aim of Congress policy in regard to land has been that the actual tiller of the land should be brought into direct relationship with the State and the intermediary interests should be a maximum limit on the size of the holding under personal cultivation."

"The agricultural worker should receive special consideration in respect of the minimum wage and employment in secondary occupations. The goal of land reforms should be a co-operative rural economy based on the village community and on voluntary association. The implementation of land reforms has been uneven in the country. Earnest efforts should be made to complete the whole programme of land reforms within the next two years."

"In the rural areas, within a very limited time the provision of drinking water should be made universal. The spread of educational facilities is another matter of high priority."

Child Care: "In this and in respect of health, the child should be the first consideration. Equality of opportunity should start from the birth of child. Every child should have the necessary facilities for education according to his capacity and no promising child should be prevented from attaining the highest level of which he is capable because of the poverty of the parents."

Unaccounted money—threat to Democracy and socialism: "Another aspect of our economic and social situation in the country which has not received due attention is the prevalence of anti-social practices, which have a considerable bearing on the concentration of wealth, growth of disparities and of monopolistic trends."

"Speculative gains, the illegitimate incomes in a variety of forms and evasions of obligations under various laws have led to the presence of large amounts of unaccounted money in the hands of unscrupulous individuals."

"The activities of such anti-social elements result in large distortions in the economy and the unhealthy tendencies which they release can undermine the foundations of the social and political life of the country. Development of anti-social forces with their corrupting influence poses a threat to democracy and socialism which should be met by systematic and strong action."

7 After Bhubaneswar

BHUBANESWAR Congress will remain ever a historic Session of the great organisation, not so much for the Declaration on 'Democracy and Socialism', which after all is not substantially different for earlier policy declarations, as for the decisive and unambiguous way in which it reflected the firm determination of Congress ranks to build a Socialist India.

Speaking at Madras soon after Bhubaneswar, on 13-1-'64, Congress President, Shri K. Kamaraj, said.

"The concentration of wealth in a few hands, if allowed to continue, would lead to frustration among the people and endanger democracy itself.

"Democratic socialism, which the Congress defined at its recent Bhubaneswar Session, was aimed at breaking up this concentration and preserving democracy in the country.

"Just as river waters were harnessed for the benefit of the people by construction of dams, so should wealth created in the country through the implementation of the Plans in the past 15 years should be harnessed for the benefit of all, not for a few. If the country's wealth was left in the hands of a few they (the few) might become interested in whittling down democracy in order to retain their hold over wealth they possessed.

"Concentration of wealth also led to corruption. People who had hold over the created wealth might tend to corrupt others to keep it with them and to increase it.

"People could enjoy the fruits of freedom only if they were free from hunger and poverty. The sight of a few enjoying the fruits of the nation's efforts might lead people to frustration

and revolution. In such an event, only those with accumulated wealth would suffer.

“There was no use distributing poverty. More wealth had to be created for equitable distribution among all classes. Hard work on the part of the people was necessary for this.”

At Bhubaneswar, speaker after speaker emphasised that the good intentions incorporated in the Resolution will not be achieved till State trading in food was undertaken, the bank finances were brought under control of the community, and till the administrative machinery was thoroughly overhauled and attuned to the needs of the nation.

Prime Minister Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, while appealing for the withdrawal of all amendments, made it clear that the leadership was in agreement with 95 per cent of what was said in them.

Bhubaneswar was watched by the nation very closely. It was a clearer and more consolidated expression of Congress concept of socialism than ever before. In its Bhubaneswar Resolution the Congress, in effect, made the following commitments :

1. Planning should take place with a view to the establishment of a socialistic pattern of society where the principal needs of production are under social ownership or control, production is progressively speeded up and there is equitable distribution of the national wealth.
2. Democratic socialism is to be brought about through radical changes in the attitude and outlook of the people as well as the institutions.
3. Every one should have equal opportunity and a just share in the fruits of progress. Privilege, disparities and exploitation should be eliminated.
4. Decentralised industry based on small-scale and cottage schemes will continue to occupy an important place in the economy of the country.
5. It is necessary to ensure that economic development should not result in widening of disparities of income and concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment;

6. With regard to the attainment of a national minimum standard of living, the nation should set before itself a goal, and this objective should be substantially realised by the end of the 5th Plan.
7. It is necessary to bring about a limitation of income and property in private hands.
8. Government should place itself in a position more effectively than in the past to direct the means of credit and investible resources of the country along the lines of national priorities and our social purposes. Small entrepreneurs and new-comers should not be placed under any disadvantage in respect of availability of finance and resources.
9. The workers should be associated in the management of industry in a substantial way and rapid progress in this direction should be achieved.
10. Every effort should be made to ensure the successful operation of controls by efficient and honest administration and by enlisting the cooperation of the people.
11. Credit-worthiness should depend on the capacity for production and not necessarily on ownership of assets.
12. Adequate price should be paid to the farmer for his produce.
13. Earnest efforts should be made to complete the whole programme of land reforms within the next two years.
14. Speculative gains, illegitimate incomes in a variety of forms, and evasion of obligations under various laws have led to the existence of large amounts of unaccounted money in the hands of unscrupulous individuals. This development of anti-social forces with great capacity to corrupt the society should be met by systematic and strong action.
15. The administrative system should be adjusted and fully geared to the task of implementing the programmes and policies embodied in the five-year plans.
16. Radical changes must be brought about in the outlook and organisation of the services.

Popular hopes as also expectations among vast ranks of Congressmen was high after Bhubaneswar. Nothing

positive was witnessed, there were voices raised for effective implementation of the Bhubaneswar decisions. It was said that in a planning directed to achieve a socialistic reorganisation of society, production is directly subordinated to the aim to cater to the needs of the population. And the primary need in India today is to raise the living standards of our people. Planning, therefore, has to take the form of deliberately maintained proportionality in the development of the different branches of the economy in keeping with the overall objective. If, however, in our system of planning, the production is subordinated with a view to allowing profits to the individual industrialist-banker, there is unavoidable, constant violations of the set proportionality, and economic collisions and cataclysms are the inevitable products. Under such a pattern, planning becomes an attempt to coordinate what cannot be coordinated, that is, derivation of greater profits with economic development that proceeds without conflicts and crises.

It was realised that divided counsels prevailed among Congressmen on the steps necessary to implement Bhubaneswar. There was obvious lack of clarity on what was sought to be achieved in our socialist pattern. There was, on the one hand emphasis on production-orientation which ignore distribution aspects. There was, on the other hand, emphasis on distributive aspects which, some feel, do not recognise the vital needs of increasing production.

The Congress Working Committee appointed a Committee headed by Shri U.N. Dhebar with a view to suggest ways to implement the Bhubaneswar decision to build a socialist society in India. This Committee submitted its Report to a meeting of the All India Congress Committee at Bombay in May, 1964. In its Report, the Committee described the essential objectives of the Bhubaneswar Resolution thus :

“The Bhubaneswar Resolution on ‘Democracy and Socialism’ has outlined essential characteristics of the social and economic order that the nation is determined to build for itself as speedily as possible. The Resolution has in particular stressed the importance of ensuring—

- (a) that the essential requirements in respect of food, clothing, housing, education and health of every man, woman and child in the country are satisfied ;

- (b) that, as a means to the above end as well as because of the intrinsic value that should be attached to social justice in a viable democracy, large disparities that exist in the economic and social status of different sections of the community should be narrowed down;
- (c) that necessary fundamental changes in the ways of thinking and in the ways of living of the people be brought about democratically so as to facilitate the full growth of human personality which alone would make it possible for the full utilisation of the enormous human resources which the country is endowed with ; and
- (d) that the nation should set before itself the task of realising these objectives substantially by the end of the Fifth Plan."

Presenting the Report to the All India Congress Committee, Shri Dhebar said that the Committee had suggested ways and means for ushering in democratic socialism and ensuring the 5 national minimums—food, shelter, clothing, education and health—at least by the end of the Fifth Plan. This was the third time during the last 9 months when the AICC was meeting to discuss the aspect of implementation of our goal of democratic socialism. Shri Dhebar emphasised that it would not be possible to evolve a new social order unless the people consciously accept it and make it their own responsibility. The country has to lay a firm foundation in the next two years for achieving the national minimum in respect to the 5 national needs. To achieve this target, he said, a 7% annual increase in agricultural output in the next two years is of utmost importance. Even if it is considered ambitious by some, the country has to strain its utmost to realise it. This is all the more necessary because the rate of growth in the last two or three years has remained stagnant at 3%. Shri Dhebar said, "How long we are going to tell the people that they should go without the minimum means and ask them to be patient and tolerant. The problem should not only be viewed from the economic angle but also from the political angle. The Congress organisation should lose no time in undertaking the task of awakening the people to their new rights and responsibilities so that the land reforms could be pushed through with their cooperation." He suggested a high-level committee of the AICC with

four or five members headed by a senior Congress leader to ensure implementation of the land reforms in the next two years. There should also be a committee of Congress legislators at the State level to assist the Central Committee in this task, he said.

Explaining the Sub-committee's various suggestions, Shri Dhebar said that the placing of responsibility on the Chief Ministers and the Ministers of Agriculture in the States for achieving this target is one of the fundamental suggestions made in the report.

Referring to the main reason for the rise in prices, Shri Dhebar said the main reason is the Government's inability to go into each and every detail of the problem. Firm measures have to be taken for effective regulation of prices of food articles, particularly grains, and of other goods of common consumption, such as textiles. To this end the Government should acquire, before the end of the Third Plan, a commanding position in the matter of foodgrains. If the Government took steps to implement in the next two years some of the suggestions made in the Report, the objective of the Bhubaneswar resolution would be fulfilled.

Concluding, Shri Dhebar said that at this time of the country's history when the prices are going up, when the markets are not also under our full control, where the disparities have not been reduced, and where there are so many kinds of grievances, we have to look at the problem from two angles, the increase in production, and simultaneously increase in employment and social justice.

Leading Congressmen like Shri K.D. Malaviya, Shri A.P. Jain, Shri V.K. Krishna Menon and others were critical of the Report. Their main criticism was that the Report did not go far enough, and they made powerful plea for nationalisation of banks, curbs on monopolies, extension of State sector to profit-giving consumer industries, such as, textiles, etc.

There was strong criticism about the implementation of land reforms. Thus, Shri V.K. Krishna Menon said that legislation in regard to land distribution had failed. Our country, he said, is of poor people and its wealth is not properly being utilised.

In some States, he said, notably U.P., zamindars have been abolished, but not zamindaris. He made a strong plea for land being given to the tiller. "We must go back to the keynote of the Kumarappa Report" he said. Nationalisation of land, not in the sense of Government becoming the owner absolutely, but in the sense of the small cultivator being made irremovable, should be adopted. There have been larger number of agricultural legislations in our country than in any other country of the world. But this is not sufficient incentive for the producer.

The Bombay A.I.C.C. accorded "general approval to the Report", and forwarded it to the Working Committee for taking necessary steps for the implementation of its recommendations.

Soon after the Bombay A.I.C.C., on May 27, 1964, Jawaharlal Nehru departed from his people leaving behind a great legacy of socialism for the Congress and the country. The national mourning in memory of the great leader became also a national reaffirmation of his policies and reiteration of the nation's resolve to build a Socialist India of his dreams.

The urge for quicker march to socialism continued to express itself in various activities and pronouncements of Congressmen. Particular mention may be made of a Northern India Congress Workers' Convention held at New Delhi on September 6-7, 1964. Convened by Shri K.D. Malaviya, this Convention rallied about 120 Congressmen from northern India. It was addressed, among others, by Shri G.L. Nanda, Smt. Indira Gandhi, and also Congress President, Shri K. Kamaraj. The Convention adopted a Declaration which said:

"The socialistic programme of the Congress, has been constantly evolving ever since the Karachi Congress Resolution on Fundamental Rights. The object of Congress socialism is to bring about radical changes in our land-system and encourage cooperative agricultural activities ; to bring about quick industrialisation of India with State-owned heavy and basic industries as the base; to create an independent economy, and to exercise control over revenue and bank resources of the nation with a view to their purposeful investment in our planned economy."

In a section on "The Present Scene," the Declaration expressed its concern at the fact that standards of living of the people

has undergone little, if any, change, and the gap between the rich and the poor had been aggravated. The Convention went on to define what it called "Our Socialism" (See Chapter 9), and called for "drastic changes" in the "functioning and direction" of the Congress organisation. It said: "A drastic change is necessary in the functioning and direction of the organisation. Our attempt should be to make the Congress an ideologically trained and devoted organisation of all patriotic Indians seeking to build a socialist India. That can be possible only when present groupings and factions based around personalities are eliminated and higher unity based on acceptance of common policies takes its place."

The Declaration said in its concluding para: "We Congressmen have to remember that a great responsibility rests on our shoulders. Having won India's freedom, we have now to fulfil the expectations of our long-suffering people for a better and happier life. We have to prove true to the ideals and the teachings of the Father of our Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, and our great leader and teacher, Jawaharlal Nehru. We can best do our duty by remaining true and sincere Congressmen and by strengthening the Congress organisation in order to make it a better vehicle to attain the objectives we have cherished."

The 69th Session of the Indian National Congress met at Durgapur on Jan 7-11, 1965, under the Presidentship of Shri K. Kamaraj. In his presidential address, Shri Kamaraj made a strong plea for achieving a Socialist India during our lifetime. The session adopted a resolution on "Economic and Social Policy." It expressed dissatisfaction at India's slow progress towards socialism and proposed measures to reach the goal at a faster pace.

The major steps suggested to achieve the Congress ideals defined at Bhubaneswar included establishment of agro-industrial corporations in each State, a check on further expansion of industries in large cities and congested areas, and location of industries in rural areas.

The resolution laid down that the major consideration in the allocation of resources for the Fourth Five Year Plan, whether in the public or private sector, should be production of essential commodities and provision of services on an adequate

scale. This was necessary to assure the people a minimum standard of living by the end of the Fifth Plan period.

Agriculture had the highest priority in the Fourth Plan and the requirements of agriculture by way of materials, skill and finance must be at all times the first charge on the available resources.

At the organizational level it suggested that trained cadres of Congress workers in large numbers must go to the countryside and undertake a campaign to persuade the people to make efforts and sacrifices to bring about a socialist society.

The function of the agro-industrial corporations, the resolution said, would be to establish a large number of industrial units based on agriculture to provide employment for villagers and reduce pressure on land.

It said that land reforms should be completed before the end of the Third Plan period. Most States already had laws on the subject.

The resolution said that a dynamic socialist outlook must permeate the administration.

It also said that measures and policies to promote social justice and prevent concentration of economic power must receive special attention.

On January 7, when the Subject Committee adopted the above resolution, late Prime Minister Shastriji said in a press interview that the Congress was irrevocably committed to democratic socialism that made it imperative that whatever programme it undertook should be for the greatest good of the greatest number. Within that framework, the resolution gave high priority to the industrial and agricultural development in rural areas. It was decided to give special attention to the problems of small farmers who formed the majority of the country's population. They particularly, and other rural people generally, should be given credit and other facilities for developing agriculture and industries. To this end priority should be given to the augmentation of power supply and its availability at low rates.

After these objectives were achieved, it would increase the employment potential in the countryside and those who would benefit from it would be the millions of the unemployed and the under-employed in the rural areas. Banking facilities to small

farmers should also be increased many fold so that they become financially capable of acquiring ownership of the land they cultivate. As regards co-operative farming, Shri Shastri said the Congress had never declared that it would go the "whole hog" with it, but the principle had been accepted and it would be experimented with.

8 The Summing Up—I

Conditioning Factors

ONE of the most outstanding features of the concept of socialism as evolved by the Indian National Congress is the complete absence of any traces of dogmatism, doctrinnairism and intolerance which have been the marked features of socialistic concepts in the West, whether of the Communist variety or of what may be called the Social Democratic or Second Internationalist variety.

Socialism, as in its this nomenclature, is essentially a Western concept which arose and developed in a specific historical and economic situation in the 19th century. It was conceived and evolved as a way out of the evils generated in society by anarchic capitalist system, which, as it developed, led to increasing concentration of the ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange in the hands of a small capitalist class. The basic feature of socialist approach was to end individual ownership of the means of production and to vest its ownership in society exercising its authority through the State. Thus, socialism sought to bring about elimination of private property for personal profit and introduction of social ownership of the means of production as also distribution.

Socialism thus seeks to provide opportunity to everyone in society for his or her livelihood, health, education, etc., making it possible for each to find full expression of his personality.

Thus, what socialism seeks to achieve is in line with the ancient quest of man for a free, happy world. Man, from the very beginning has yearned for such a millenia where everyone will be happy and contented. His these yearnings have found expression in

various ways. It has been said that there was a past when everyone was happy and praises have been sung of that imaginary past age. And man persistently imagined that there lies ahead a future of abundance, happiness and contentment.

It is significant that in the years preceding the concretisation of socialist ideas in mid-nineteenth century, Robert Owen, Fourier, and others had conceived of and dilated upon a system of social organisation, which concepts, in their totality, are now known as Utopian Socialism.

Socialism thus has as its essential content a great amount of humanism born of compassion for suffering human beings. This, along with its approach to wealth and riches as things for social advancement and not for personal enrichment, luxury and waste, give it a moral and philosophical content basically and diametrically different from the values which govern a capitalist society.

Viewed thus, it is inevitable that socialist ideas in India are very much conditioned and reinforced by the heritage handed down to us from the ancient past. There is much in our literature and philosophy which is far different from the values of an acquisitive society.

Possession of wealth and riches has never been the ideal in ancient Indian scriptures. *Basudhaiva Kutumbakam* (the entire earth is one family) has been an ideal handed down to us. Renunciation, and not acquisition, has been hailed as a great Indian virtue. Mighty rulers at the peak of their power used to renounce the world and retire to forests for prayer and meditation. Society gave the highest respect to penniless, loin-clothed ascetics and preachers and not the rich rolling in wealth. This has been a tradition coming down to this day. We are not aware of any rich men in India in the past three or four centuries, but we know of a galaxy of loin-clothed saints like Sur, Tulsi, Kabir, Tukaram, Thyagaraja, Ramanujacharya, Nanak, etc.

Service to fellow human beings, charity, piety and righteousness have been the dominant tones of ancient Indian literature and philosophy. The *Rigveda*, for example, talks of the human family being all one community and enjoins all to work together, move together, keep hearts in unison and divide the fruits of labour according to one's share in the common property.

We need not labour on this point any further. Learned treatises have been written on the inexhaustible fund of our rich

ancient literature. This, by itself, would not have been at all a conditioning factor in the evolution of Indian socialist concepts. What is important is that this heritage did not die off or went into disuse at any time in the course of our hoary history. Amazingly, it has persisted all through the long centuries as part of people's consciousness, and quite often in all kinds of superstitious rituals and customs. What is important, however, is that it has all the time been there. The dominant notes have been respect for truth and justice, tolerance, charity and goodwill towards all.

We would like here to put in a word of explanation to avoid misunderstanding. Our purpose in the above is merely to point out that there are such conditions of thought in our society which will make easy the acceptance by the masses of our people of socialistic programmes and policies, and which condition the Indian approach to the question. We do not, however, by any stretch of imagination seek to ignore the fact that in this country more than in other countries, the people were bound to the privilege and burden of a very long past and were rather borne down by the weight.

Another conditioning factor may be said to range in the very same categories which heralded the advent of socialist ideas more than a century ago. The idea of socialism was the product of early industrial revolution. Science and technology, however, have made great strides since that time when Karl Marx laid down the principles of scientific socialism. Conditions today are materially different from those obtaining at that time.

Science and technology today promise abundance on the one hand and open up entirely new horizons before human society today when man has launched on space conquest. In this context the blind-folded and dogmatic acceptance of the concepts of scientific socialism as evolved in the early years is likely to lead one in a blind alley and all kinds of follies, an example of which is provided by neighbouring China.

given up. The process of de-Stalinisation is symbolic of this very trend.

On April 19, 1958, Shri Nehru spoke at a Symposium at New Delhi on "Our Concept of Democratic Socialism", organised by the Congress Socialist Forum. Shri Nehru referred to the impact of the Russian Revolution and Gandhiji's teachings on Indian thought.

So far as India was concerned, Shri Nehru said, Gandhiji's teachings and personality had the most dominating impact on our minds and movements. He said that he himself did not understand the "trusteeship" theory of Gandhiji just as he was unable to comprehend many other ideas of his, but, he added, he had realised that Gandhiji's teachings should not be taken literally; it was the spirit underlying them that really mattered.

Gandhiji symbolised in his personality the eternal spirit of India and naturally his impact on Indian thought and mind has been to bring up the best in India's heritage as distinct from the dross. It is not without significance that the revival of India under Gandhian leadership also witnessed a new interest in ancient Sanskrit studies and search for those values therein which were in tune with India's renaissance.

India has its own distinctive personality and it is inevitable that in evolving its pattern of socialism it must necessarily be conditioned by it. This very distinctiveness found expression in the techniques of *Satyagraha* and non-violence evolved by it under Gandhiji's leadership to wrest power from unwilling alien hands. In the context of today, this distinctiveness may be said to be expressed in the colossal attempt to bring about a socialistic transformation in India through democratic and parliamentary methods, and in the practice of toleration and conversion through persuasion. The forging of the instrument of village panchayats for such a socialistic transformation is another distinctive Indian phenomenon.

As for the impact of the Russian Revolution, as Shri Nehru has said, its effect on Indian mind cannot be denied. The large fund of goodwill which exists in India today for the U.S.S.R. is due no doubt to its programmes of aid to India and its stands on the Kashmir question as also in regard to the border dispute with China; behind it is also the sympathetic interest in the nation to the creation of a socialist society in the Soviet Union.

While thus keenly interested in the creation of socialist society in the U.S.S.R., India has at the same time noted the very heavy cost which the Soviet Union had to pay for it and the accompanying horrors and elimination of innocents which have now been revealed. Replying to a debate in the Rajya Sabha on March 12, 1958, Shri Nehru pointed out that the Soviet Union was the only country which had made a tremendous economic advance in the last 40 years but had had to pay a heavy price for it.

Thus it is that while India seeks to learn from the great experience of constructing socialism in the U.S.S.R., it at the same time is convinced that it will eschew the force and violence so much used in that country as its own democratic methods are best suited to Indian conditions.

The Content of Congress Socialism

WHAT is Congress Socialism ? This is a question which interests many people from widely divergent spheres and areas. Scholars and research workers from abroad, both from the East and the West, come to India to study and understand 'Congress Socialism'. In India itself, while to some Congress socialism is just 'phoney', to some others it is nothing short of near-communism. Among Congressmen themselves the socialism of the organisation is understood in different ways ; and the demand persists that it should be "clearly" spelled out.

In March, 1963, in response to a letter from a veteran Congressman, Shri Bibhuti Mishra, Shri G.L. Nanda spelt out what he regarded as "vital elements in the concept of Indian Socialism." According to Shri Nanda, the basic ingredients of Congress Socialism would be :—

- "1. Freedom from want for every individual and family and the basic provision for all of the five needs of life (food, clothing, shelter, education and health).
- "2. No superfluity of provision for anyone till the basic minimum has been made available to all ; any excess over the minimum in any case must have its justification, on functional grounds, in terms of special contribution or benefit to the community.
- "3. The economic system should be so organised that economic power cannot be used for the exploitation of the need or work of anyone for the greed or aggrandizement

of any individual or group. This applies to political power also.

- “4. The economic and social system should enable the full release and utilisation of the energy and capacity of every individual or group and the effective utilization of all other resources for the purpose of securing the largest increase in production and national income.
- “5. Freedom of the spirit of man to express itself fully for individual good and the advancement of society.
- “6. The creation of a social, economic, political and cultural environment which preserves and enlarges such freedom, and helps and stimulates the all-round development of the individual and society. Work itself will be so organised as to bestow inner harmony and yield full satisfaction.
- “7. The evolution of institutions and the satisfaction of the creative and cultural needs of individuals and groups in consonance with the best elements in the cultural and historic traditions of India.
- “8. Ethical behaviour and a sense of social responsibility and social justice will permeate economic activity, business relations and the administrative and institutional set up of the community.
- “9. In all that concerns to people, their participation will be obtained to the maximum extent. There will be the largest measure of decentralisation in economic activity and local initiative will be developed fully.”

The Northern India Congress Workers' Convention at New Delhi in September, 1964, in its 'Declaration', in Section V, "What is our Socialism?" said as follows :

“1. This Convention considers that socialism should be considered a way of life and not a mere programme to bring us bread and butter in a limited time.

“2. Our policy of peace abroad through our faith in non-alignment and co-existence must be re-emphasised with vigour, imagination and determination and India must retain in the international arena its high place as a champion of peace and freedom which Nehru won for our nation.

“3. It has to be emphasised and ever borne in mind that we can meet the threats posed by China and Pakistan and keep

the morale of our people high and maintain a powerful rear only by pursuing socialistic programmes of production and equitable distribution, and preventing a handful from enriching themselves by appropriation of huge invested developmental funds through trickery and subterfuge.

"4. Our progress on the economic front within the country must envisage, firstly, a change in our fiscal policy in so far as small producers are concerned and taking over of the ownership of private banks by the community.

"5. The Convention wants that in its programme of socialism, Congress must declare a moratorium on rural debt for all tenants except those who own 50 acres and more. The tenantry must be liberated from the private village banker and private money-lending to farmers must be prevented by law. Government institutions and people's cooperatives must obligatorily arrange for all types of loans to farmers and small entrepreneurs according to a systematically thought-out plan. Prices of the important cereals and other commodities must be fixed without waiting for expert opinion from abroad, and a system of distribution controls should be introduced wherever the Government is able to assemble the necessary organization and collect data.

"6. A programme of mechanization of agriculture has to be begun immediately if at all the programme to increase food production has to succeed. If necessary, this may be done by modifying the budgets and Plan programmes which have so far been taken up. While animal husbandry and the building up of our bullock power is a most sacred duty of our Government, it seems inescapable that in the present context of scarcity of bullock power and the chronic stagnation that has set in our agriculture due to unfavourable man-land ratio, a programme of manufacture of small tractors can no longer be postponed. Further, these tractors should be operated through State and cooperative institutions.

"7. Our socialist programme should facilitate quick building up of agro-industrial units. These rural industrial units will stop the tendency in young talented people from rural areas to migrate to the towns because they will find modern ways of living near their homes, electricity, good roads, good schools, and other modern institutions. This Convention feels that without giving adequate protection to the small-scale agro-industries,

the problem of payment and equitable production cannot be solved.

"8. Our programme of building heavy industries under the Public Sector should unhesitatingly grow. Further, important consumer goods industries, like some textile mills, all sugar mills, and jute and pharmaceuticals should be taken over by the community or fully controlled and managed by institutions which are more representative of the people and not as private corporations.

"9. While our programme of building up industries and increasing production has to be nursed relentlessly through State initiative and peoples' institutions, it has to be noted that our economic programme must not only be production-oriented but also take full care of the distribution aspect as well.

"10. The present problem of scarcity can be solved adequately only when the State has boldly decided to take over trade from the private wholesalers and gives due emphasis to distribution aspects with as much urgency as we wish to give to our programmes of production.

"11. The growing monopolistic tendency must be suppressed ruthlessly in our society. We know from world experience the great damage done to the cause of peace by the giant cartels which grew up of steel, oil, electric goods, etc. India cannot allow this growth. India needs must destroy all these monopolistic tendencies not only by taking care of the future but also cutting the existing ones to proper size. It is also necessary that in order to build a healthy Democracy and Socialism in our country the Press Monopoly should be curbed and private industrialists engaged in other pursuits should not be allowed to own newspapers.

"12. The problem of inequality of educational opportunities available to the people is being continuously ignored. Whatever other spiritual and moral disaster may follow as a result of this neglect of the question of inequalities of educational opportunities, one consequence of this neglect is that potentially talented people are kept ignorant and are becoming frustrated.

"13. In our age of increasing industrialization and reorganization of social relationships, social and political stability can be achieved only on the basis of steady satisfaction of economic expectations. In all progressive countries social security measures

that provide for the essentials of life for working people during periods of unemployment and after the age of retirement are now constitutionally assured. One of the first tasks of a truly democratic socialist order in India should be to introduce a comprehensive system of social security for all classes of people.

“14. The foundation of modern economic advance is increasing employment. Our planning has so far failed to create a sufficient number of employment opportunities for the people. Unemployment and under-employment are the greatest drags on our progress. Unless our planning effort becomes increasingly employment-oriented, the achievement of physical targets by themselves will mean very little. Special attention must be devoted by the Government to the problem of providing employment both in the rural and the urban sector and industrial development undertaken into the full awareness that production should increase at least at the same rate as increase in the working population.”

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Bereft of all dogmas, dilations, treatises, attitudes and verbiages, socialism essentially means or connotes the greatest good of the greatest number. Human beings, and great thinkers from earliest years of civilised existence have dreamt of a golden age of happiness and prosperity where all will live together in friendship and cooperation.

The coming up of capitalism subsequent to the industrial revolution resulted in intensified exploitation of the working classes and in those early years it meant much misery and tragedy for those who were uprooted from their soil and farms by the relentless logic of industrialisation and migrated to factory centres for work and living.

It is perhaps significant that the most outstanding utopian, as also the one who along with Karl Marx gave the scientific approach to capitalism and socialism, namely, Robert Owen and Freidrich Engels, were both capitalists and industrialists and had first hand knowledge of the working of the new capitalist mode of production.

At the root of the scientific and learned studies by a galaxy of thinkers in Europe following the ushering in of capitalist mode of production was compassion and a sense of horror at the misery

caused to human beings by the new mode of production. And we know that it was the sight of human misery and tragedy in the villages of Avadh (Rai Bareilly and Pratapgarh) which transformed Jawaharlal Nehru, the Father of Indian Socialism.

The great credit of Karl Marx lies in the fact that with his great ability and genius, he undertook a scientific study of the laws of working of the capitalist system, and in the course of his study he went into the origins of property, the family and the state. The scientific interpretation he gave for the first time changed the concept of history being as a collection of big names and dates, and related it to productive processes and relations of human beings to them. With this as the key, Marx could explain the basic role of labour in transformations of human society, the early primitive communism, its break up and the slave society, the subsequent feudal period, and coming in of capitalism, the great role of capitalism in taking human society to a higher stage, and the inherent contradiction in capitalism, of the social nature of production but individual appropriation.

By his great intellectual contribution Marx gave a new force to the various movements in Europe in different countries for better conditions for the working masses, and in their totality what he said and preached got the connotation of Marxism.

Soon, however, Marx's teachings were subjected to various interpretations, ranging from the sublime to the ridiculous, and, as variously suggested but never confirmed, Marx once was forced to remark : "Thank God, I am not a Marxist."

Marx's ideas formed concrete fruition in Russia under the leadership of Lenin who through a party he created succeeded in capturing power and state authority for the working masses.

The success of a socialist revolution in a vast sprawling country like Russia naturally was a great event in world history and impacted upon it in various ways. There was a natural growth of what came to be known as the Communist movement with its successes and failures, and it also emerged in a particular shape and form in China.

We have necessarily to be brief, but it goes without saying that the greatest damage to Marxism has been caused by the Chinese leaders of the day.

Marxism-Leninism, as it came to be known, for purposes of transformations in human society advocates the method of the

dictatorship of the proletariat, the creation of a party to the exclusion of all other parties, and, generally, a curb on democratic liberties of free speech and association. The Chinese have shown that under certain conditions and circumstances, and in the hands of ambitious men, this is capable of being made an instrument for domination and expansionism of a type hitherto unknown in the world, and can, indeed, be a veritable menace for human society.

That is not to say that the Chinese have succeeded, in spite of all their foolishness and dogma, in destroying the basic concepts of socialism, its emphasis on creating a form of socio-economic organisation in which private ownership of property is not allowed to be an instrument of exploitation of man by man. The basic postulate of socialism, namely, replacing the present forms of property ownership by social ownership to eliminate exploitation remains valid, and is even strengthened by various developments.

These facts have to be borne in mind in any attempt to define the socialism of the Indian National Congress. Its most outstanding feature is its complete freedom from any dogmatism. Its another outstanding feature is the emphasis on democracy, on democratic rights, on complete assurance in any social reorganisation of individual liberty, freedom of expression and association.

Another factor to be borne in mind about Congress socialism is that it has come to be the programme of a great and glorious movement, of a great and ancient nation and people, a movement which is now eighty years old, which has great and outstanding achievements to its credit, which has been nurtured by the greatest men of India's recent history, and which has the proud privilege to claim as its own such immortal names in the panorama of human history as Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

In short, Congress socialism has evolved, and will continue to evolve, and it cannot be tied down to any set patterns and systems of thought except perhaps the great humanism of India, its tolerance, and its effort ever to seek conversion through persuasion, and its abhorrence of violent forms and ways. Along with it, and conditioning it is the traditional Indian emphasis on matters of the spirit, of what Nehru called the Vedantic concept of a life force, and a certain freedom from materialism and worldliness.

Such a pattern free from regimented thought, will of necessity reveal differences in approach. No doubt, sometimes these differences revealed can be against the generally accepted current, and in Congress history there have been occasions when those who did not fall in line with the accepted current dropped out, leaving the great organisation with all its vibrancy and dynamism.

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As for the Congress concepts of socio-economic reorganisation of our society, these have been laid down from time to time, which we have attempted to trace out in the preceding pages.

Congress socialism squarely stands for elimination of differences of classes on the basis of property ownership and advocates the social ownership of the means of production, but does not want to end all private property, which attempt, as it is, has not proved much of a success in some countries where it was tried.

As to how this general approach has to be worked out in different spheres, in the industries and in agriculture, in the urban areas and in the rural, have been indicated in the various resolutions and declarations in which we need not go here.

Socialist concepts as they have evolved in the world are in some way related to a systematised line of thought to the exclusion of all other thoughts and concepts. Any attempt to find a systematised thought-process in the socialism of the Congress is bound to lead to disappointment. Socialist concepts of the Congress are influenced by Indian history, by the noble teachings of Gandhiji, and by the writings and pronouncements of Jawaharlal Nehru. Within this overall picture are concrete programmes for various sectors of India's economic life. They are clear enough. Those who see confusion in them really confuse between accepted policies and their implementation. But here we have attempted a discussion of policies and the overall approach governing them, and not the implementation.

A P P E N D I X A

**MEMORANDA SUBMITTED FOR BHUBANESWAR
CONGRESS BY CONGRESS COMMITTEES AND
CONGRESSMEN**

This meeting of the Executive Committee of the Utkal Pradesh Congress Committee gave its earnest thoughts to the resolution on "DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM" and "THE KAMRAJ PLAN" as adopted at the last meeting of the AICC held on the 3rd and 4th of November, 1963, at Jaipur.

2. After a detailed analysis the following recommendations are adopted for consideration at the Joint Meeting of the PCC and the Orissa Congress Assembly Party in its next meeting.

3. The Committee feels that for planned economic development of our nation we have to set our priorities in the sequence of Agriculture, Industry and Transport. In our present economy, nearly 70% of our people are engaged fully or partially in agriculture. Consequently it becomes obvious that maximum State-effort has to be directed towards rapid development of agriculture. It is necessary to define, even at the cost of repetition, what is exactly meant by development of agriculture.

4. In general, popular conception of agriculture denotes mainly production of paddy, wheat and cereals. Whereas the staple corn takes the highest priority, development of live-stock, production of milk, meat, fish, eggs, as well as production of cash crops, vegetables and fruits must also receive very high priority. We have made varieties of attempts to accelerate development of these items of agriculture through our different plans, but we have generally failed to achieve our targets.

5. The Committee considered the causes of this failure very carefully and felt that the following actions are urgently called for to accelerate the growth of agriculture in our country and provide social and economic justice to the majority section of our community.

6. Land Reform and Production

(a) The philosophy of this reform is to provide incentives to the small peasant owner, so that he puts his heart to the job and produces maximum. It is estimated that the owner-tiller

produces on the average 15 to 25 per cent more per acre than partner-cultivators who do not own the land, and hence the need to abolish the intermediary between the tiller and the State. With the present meagre facilities in the hands of our cultivators in terms of mechanized implements, better seeds, fertilizers, insecticides, perennial water, storage and credits, the incentive of a owner-tiller as against partner-cultivator for maximum production by greater hours of work assumes national proportions. Consequently, land reform in terms of land ceiling has to remain within the orbit of the capacity of bullocks, which is the only agricultural traction power in India today. It is estimated that the owner-tiller with a pair of bullocks cannot work intensively more than 7 acres. While legislating, this fact may be taken into consideration.

(b) It is also clear that as bullocks steadily get replaced by mechanical traction and more and more people leave the land for industries or other more profitable avocations, the character of land reform would undergo a change. With mechanized cultivation, it is the machine that will determine the economic land area for maximum productivity. If it is a small power tiller, the machine may require 15 acres, and if it is a bigger tractor it may demand 100 to 200 acres. At this point of time land reform for higher productivity would mean formation of bigger land area as co-operatives of owner-tillers, as well as large mechanized State farms.

(c) For the present any attempt at real land reform based on small owner-tiller for maximizing production calls for direct and monopolistic State entry into the field of agriculture as against a totally free economy based on the law of supply and demand affecting the largest section of our people, i.e., the producers and the consumers.

(d) This means that the State must replace all other forms of credit to the owner-tiller. This can be done by having Farmers' Banks at every Panchayat with full financial facilities for the farmers. Any other form of credit to the owner-tiller by money-lenders, traders or millers has to be eliminated. The Farmers' Banks should not only be able to finance in kind and cash but also be able to buy and store all the surplus production of the farmer at fixed rates. These rates should be so determined by the State from time to time as would give the farmer adequate

incentive for greater production, as well as protect the cost-index of the consumer.

(e) The State, either by itself or through cooperatives, shall own all the processing industries, based on land produce.

(f) The State should undertake marketing of the produce either through State-shops or through Consumers' Co-operatives at fixed prices.

(g) The State would, by marginal price adjustments at purchase, process and sale points, earn considerable revenue. While the land revenue could be handed over to the Panchayats both for collection and utilisation for classified development in the villages, the State income out of its agricultural trade should continue to create, organize and assist institutional growth in favour of the farmer for greater productivity.

(h) In this context, one important matter to be remembered is that whereas properly designed machines would relieve the farmer of his drudgery, machines by themselves will not increase the output per acre : Full scientific support to the land is a must along with the machinery, to raise higher productivity per acre and per farmer. Such scientific support means detailed soil testing, provision of adequate neutralizers for alkaline or acid soils, provision of adequate nitrogen and insecticides, water and drainage, as well as continuous experiment and development of hybrid, improved seeds and plants.

(i) State entry into the field of production of mechanized agriculture also demand State-owned or State-controlled factories which would produce all the implements and chemicals required for this purpose, such as Power Tillers, Tractors, Agricultural Pumps, Fertilizers, Insecticides, Cold-storage Apparatus and Electrical Gears to regulate production, cost and distribution of these items of vital farm necessities.

(j) The Committee notes that the agricultural methods of United States about a hundred years ago were about the same as obtain in India today. At that time, one U.S. farmer could produce food for only 4 to 5 persons. To-day one farmer produces food for 27 persons. Thus, while a hundred years ago 70 per cent of the U.S. population was engaged in agriculture, today less than 10% of the population is engaged in the farms producing not only for their vastly increased population but also for export. This has been possible by full and continuous scienti-

fic study and experiments on all aspects of land and farm produce.

7. Socialist Living

When we put a ceiling on the private holdings and income of the agriculturist, there should be a corresponding ceiling in the size and income of businessmen, Government servants and professional men and women. There should also be a ceiling in the income of the organized labour, commensurate with the structure of society, as well.

After agriculture, the next important aspect of social justice is provision of houses, clean drinking water, electricity and replacement of primitive fuel by modern fuel system in the kitchens, as well as provision of educational facilities to the nation's children, and minimum health services for the people.

8. House, Water and Fuel

The State has not only to plan, but assume direct responsibility for provision of these minimum conveniences to the masses within a limited period of time, say 15 to 20 years. Considering that our population at the end of 20 years would be about 600 million, the total number of houses required with such minimum modern amenities would be 120 million. It is assumed that with rigid steps taken for family planning, India's peak population would reach 600 million at the end of 20 years and then begin to decline. In the socialist structure of our society, the State has to plan raw materials to enable construction of these 120 million houses in the next 20 years. Consequently, production of raw materials for construction, like cement and steel, as well as fuels like coal, oil and electricity, which on the one hand is required for industry and on the other hand for replacement of primitive fuel in the nation's kitchens, must remain the direct responsibility of the State. This will also eliminate indiscriminate destruction of nation's forest wealth and maintenance of millions of useless cattle for purposes of cow-dung. State ownership and control in these sectors is essential not only for planned production but also for planning costs for the millions.

The nation's economy would have to be rearranged with such priorities as would concurrently develop socialist agricul-

ture as well as socialist housing programme, including drinking water supply and fuel in the kitchens. The State should also plan to produce simultaneously the kitchen equipments for use of new fuel, like coal-gas or electricity, and all other equipments commensurate with the number of houses to be built in the country every year.

10. Transport

Development of agriculture and industry cannot be planned without adequate transport. India's transport system has been developed on the basis of demands and supply centres created by free flow of economy. The present tendency is to grow in the same direction thus causing imbalance in the society. Socialist development of the nation would demand that the system of the transport and the vehicles of transport should be so planned as to foster trading and commercial possibilities in the State and cooperative enterprises throughout the country. It is envisaged that the village-produce would be transported by lighter vehicles to the main centres of trading and such centres would be connected by trunk roads or rail-roads, for movement to bigger consumption centres. Consequently, the State sector must also take into its orbit planned production of transport vehicles, to keep abreast with fast movement of agricultural and other industrial commodities.

11. Administration

When we are planning socialist action and accept that implementation of these actions would have to be carried out by the administration, it becomes imperative that our present administrative system be re-designed to cope with the new system. The present static security of the administration should undergo complete change and its security should conform to its capacity for performance. Pension is an instrument of social security for old-age. There is no social justification for providing pensions to Government servants only, unless a similar system could be extended to other citizens of our land. If the State provides old-age insurance for all the citizens of the country, it will then be equitable for the State to provide insurance for its servants as well. Otherwise, the present position appears to be discriminatory and repugnant to considerations of social justice.

12. Under these considerations there is no case whatsoever for maintenance of a class of people based on unearned income. For example, no person should live on moneylending or on rent of houses. No person can have large amounts sanctioned to him by the State, like Privy Purse, even though it may be an earlier commitment by Government. No person should live in a house with an area which is vastly disproportionate to the living area of an average person in the country. It is futile to talk of socialist justice when we live in spacious bungalows, while millions live in less than one hundred square feet of shameful lodgings.

13. Social justice, however, does not preclude giving higher salaries to persons who by their brain-power and management capacity produce great surplus for society. Even in Soviet Russia, the proportion between the lowest and the highest wage ranges from 1 to 80. In our view, it would not be outside the scope of social justice if we provide to our top scientists, engineers, teachers, managers, top administrators and service men, an annual maximum income of about Rs. 60,000/-. The society should provide this so that the best brains of the society, who by their work create social surpluses or fulfil great social needs, are freed from all material needs, so that they can apply themselves and their energy fully to the service of the people.

14. In the above perspective, there does not appear to be any need for Banks and Stock-exchanges remaining in private hands.

15. All investment in consumer goods industries, i.e., tea, tobacco, matches, jute, cotton, paper, rubber, etc., should be nationalized. The compensation paid to the foreign investors along with the compensation payable to Indian companies, firms or individuals, who come under the orbit of socialist action, should be diverted to such fields of industry and technology which would enable the nation to drastically reduce the import of machineries.

This Committee recommends that all such capital released under socialist action and diverted to heavy machine-building industries should receive full support and encouragement at the hands of the State. By reducing the imports of urgently required heavy equipments, this capital would serve a vital sector of our national economy.

16. Although there are many important issues to consider, the Committee feels that we need not overburden ourselves with too many subjects but concentrate on three priority items for socialist action, i.e., Agriculture, Industry and allied matters, and Administration.

THE Executive Committee of the MPCC, after carefully considering the AICC draft on Democracy and Socialism welcomes the new emphasis on the the concepts that it tries to put in relation to future policies and programmes of the Congress.

However, with a view to infuse a sense of urgency and definiteness, the MPCC recommends the following for being incorporated in the resolution :

(1) In order to reduce the growing economic disparities and with a view to curb the ever-assertive monopolistic trends in the present economy, it is necessary to bring about structural changes in the present economic set-up, particularly by (a) nationalising the Banking system ; (b) establishing State Trading in essential commodities and import and export trade ; and (c) Co-operativising the consumer goods producing industries.

(2) In regard to the national minimum standard, as mentioned in para 11 of the draft, it is necessary to formulate, in definite terms, a phased programme so as to achieve the National Minimum Standard fully by the end of Fifth Plan. In this connection, the first priority must be given to the socially and economically depressed and backward people and to the physically and mentally handicapped. For all able-bodied citizens the State must recognise and implement the right to work.

(3) In order to increase agricultural production and to strengthen agricultural economy, it is necessary to guarantee fair and just prices of agricultural produce and to make available liberal credit facilities to the producer, especially for long-term and medium-term requirements, by the establishment of an Agricultural Finance Corporation at the national level. And at the same time care must be taken to see that consumers are protected from the rising prices. Further, agricultural development must be integrated with other production programmes.

(4) In order that every child should have the necessary facilities for education according to its capacity, it is necessary that children of economically backward families, whose annual income

does not exceed Rs. 1200, should be given free educational facilities from the primary upto the University stage.

(5) In order to achieve certain basic objectives such as acquisition of agricultural processing units, and of land enjoying special situational advantages ; and with a view to maintaining and widening employment opportunities, it is necessary to provide for compulsory acquisition of such means of production on payment of depreciated book value of the assets in question, and for this purpose to amend the Constitution, if necessary.

THREE

Delhi Pradesh Congress Committee

THE Delhi Pradesh Congress Committee accords warm welcome to the Jaipur Draft on Democracy and Socialism and regards it as a milestone in the long history of our organisation and expressive of Congress determination to create a Socialist Society in India peacefully and democratically.

As the Draft points out, Congress determination to bring about a Socialist India is not because of any outside influence but a natural culmination of the policies and programmes which the Congress has pursued from its earliest years, and particularly after Mahatma Gandhi took over the leadership of the national movement.

Congress objective in attaining political independence was always to create in India a system whereunder every citizen will have economic freedom and be free from exploitation of any kind which can be ensured by providing for every citizen at the earliest possible time a minimum of basic needs comprising water, food, clothing, housing, education and health.

The Jaipur Draft has set the target date for this as the end of the Fifth Five Year Plan, i.e., by 1975.

The Delhi Pradesh Congress Committee, even while realising the vast magnitude of the tasks involved in securing this target by 1975, nevertheless feels that now, sixteen years after independence, while the people are very wide awake and very conscious of their rights and dues from the State, the spiralling prices and the general pace of development have well-nigh nullified the benefits of increased national wealth to the vast masses of people, particularly when very large proportion of this increased wealth has passed to few hands leading to concentration of wealth and growth of monopolies which threaten not only the set goals of the Congress but the existence of the organisation.

It cannot be denied that the people are restive and want quick relief from the present difficulties in their living. There is in the situation today an urgent need for quick, decisive, and

even drastic action which sense of urgency is not to be found in the Jaipur Draft in so far as, while reiterating our declared goals, it does not concretely suggest the immediate steps which have to be, must be taken to meet the present situation.

The Delhi Pradesh Congress Committee feels that apart from constant reiteration of our goals, a change in the present situation can be brought about by taking such steps as will bring out fundamental change in the programme of production and distribution, in their ownership, management, etc., and in the agencies which play major part in the economic life of the community such as banking, trade, etc. Socialism will remain a distant dream so long as the directing and controlling hand in the vital sectors of economy remains mainly privately-owned and out of the purview of social control and direction.

The Delhi Pradesh Congress Committee feels that the price and food situation today require top attention and have to be tackled in a spirit of 'Do or Die'. The best solution for this ever-recurring problem was suggested by the Nagpur Congress which called for State trading in food grains. The Delhi Pradesh Congress Committee suggests the following immediate steps to meet the price and food situation :

- (i) A minimum remunerative price be assured to the peasant for the next 10 years ;
- (ii) Food procurement to be undertaken by State through its various agencies, and State control over its distribution through fair price shops and cooperatives ;
- (iii) Statutory control over prices of all essential commodities keeping a balance between price at the source and the price at which it reaches the consumer ensuring a reasonable margin of profit ;
- (iv) Control on margin of profits in other goods.

Besides this, it is necessary to take steps to ensure a higher level of food production from our soil so that the dependence on imported foodgrains is reduced and finally eliminated. Increased food production is largely offset by the fact that almost 50 per cent of our population in agriculture is cultivating 2 acres or less of land, or is landless, and constitute what have been called the weaker sections of the community. Their man-

power largely remains ungainfully employed and the benefits which normally should come to them through schemes like Community Development, etc., are cornered by the affluent sections of rural life. In order to ensure full use of the man-power of our weaker sections, large investments are required. The Government should offer all possible facilities to peasants cultivating 5 acres and less for providing credit, irrigation facilities, and seed, manure, etc., besides guaranteeing a minimum price as suggested above.

In fact, for the set purpose of rousing the weaker sections of the community and in order to utilise their man-power resources, without which no advance is possible, it is necessary to make a separate allotment for them with a view to help them in their agricultural operations and to start their cottage and small-scale industries utilising modern science and technology. At the same time, it should be the responsibility of the Government to provide adequate protection to the cottage and small-scale industries against competition from large units.

In fact, in our development schemes we constantly come up against the question of investment and it becomes obligatory on the State to find resources for the same. The Delhi Pradesh Congress Committee is of the opinion that for this purpose and for other reasons it is high time that Banking and General Insurance are forthwith nationalized.

Our development experience of a decade and more has now firmly established that co-operative sectors of production cannot grow in the face of competition from large-scale private production. It should be the responsibility of the Government to see that the consumer, small-scale and processing industries, which mainly constitute the group of industries in the co-operative sector, receive full protection. Further, certain other industries should be developed under the co-operative sector for which certain sets of industries should be reserved after due thought. Such a broadening of the co-operative sector will be a major contribution to bringing about a socialistic pattern.

The Industrial Policy Resolution of 1948 was framed keeping this in view and that is why, besides assigning key and basic industries to the public sector, it also advocated public sector production for such large-scale industries as fertilisers,

power, pig iron, plastics, organic dyes, basic medicines, etc. In the implementation of the Third Plan, however, has been noticed a sliding back on the revised 1956 Industrial Policy Resolution, and some industries in public sector have been handed over to the private sector. The Delhi Pradesh Congress Committee feels that the situation requires thorough re-examination. It is time now to revise the Industrial Policy Resolution which must be strictly adhered to in future. Further, the fertiliser, power, basic medicines and such other industries which have somehow, in opposition to the 1956 Industrial Policy Resolution, slid into the hands of private sector should be taken away from it. All industries as mentioned in the revised Industrial Policy Resolution should be under social ownership and in this respect no distinction should be made between heavy, consumer, or key industries.

Such an expansion of the public sector of necessity lays certain indispensable obligations upon it. The growing public sector can have an impact on the economy and society when it is run at a high level of efficiency, comes to be noted for the quality of its products, and has ideal dealings with the workers employed there.

It is also desirable that highest priority should be given to develop 'Managerial Cadre' in the country to run public undertakings efficiently.

The Delhi Pradesh Congress Committee notes the reference to growth of monopolies and concentration of wealth and power in a few hands in the Jaipur Draft. This growth of monopolies is a dangerous development in post-independence India, and as the Company Law Administration recently pointed out, the inter-twining of industrial capital with banking capital today presents a threat to the corporate sector of State economy and to society. This unhealthy trend has of late revealed its dangerous fangs on the political plane. The monopolies run counter to the national goal of reducing disparities, are a source of corruption of the administration and of social and political life. It becomes necessary, therefore, to be vigilant to the danger of monopolies. Strong steps should be taken to curb the mischief of the monopolies. Institutional changes will have to be introduced after careful thought to finally eliminate the monopolies.

An ugly expression of the menace of monopolies has been the monopoly press, especially since the declaration of Emergency following Chinese aggression. It has persistently campaigned against the socialist approach of the Congress, has not hesitated to hurl insults against the highest in the land, has indulged in campaigns of character assassination, and has encouraged all reactionary and backward looking groups and Parties. The press being a very essential organ in a democracy, steps have to be taken to ensure that it remains in a healthy state and does not become a handle in the hands of vested interests for advancement of its sectional interests as against the interests of the nation. It is, therefore, desirable that steps are taken to limit the shares of the vested classes in the press and to enlarge its management boards so as to include the representatives of the press workers, the working journalists, and academic and intellectual group in the universities and elsewhere.

It has also been noted that a section of the press persistently indulges in communal, parochial, Fascist and anti-national propaganda thus endangering democracy and disrupting national solidarity. At the time of Chinese aggression and after, it was also observed that a section of the press was supporting pro-Chinese line and thus carrying out anti-national activities which help the enemies and disrupt freedom and integrity of our Motherland. It is desirable to impose curbs on such press.

The need for development and expansion of a patriotic press has been emphasized very often. In this direction the A.I.C.C. had appointed a committee to examine in detail the proposal of setting up a machinery to organise patriotic press; but the D.P.C.C. notes with regret that no concrete steps have been taken in this regard so far.

In fact, constant vigilance will be necessary to prevent any increase in the power of the monopolies. For example, in the virgin tribal and hilly areas all industrial and other developments should be undertaken by the cooperatives, or the public sector, and inroads of private capitalism should be consciously prevented.

Similarly, the State should take an increasingly larger share in import trade and prevent profiteering and foreign exchange manipulations by big monopoly trade.

The Delhi Pradesh Congress Committee feels that it should be possible to secure effective participation of the workers in the management of public sector enterprises and also the private sector by 1967. At the same time, a suitable machinery should be devised to relate the wages with the work-load and the efficiency of the worker.

In this context, schemes should be formulated whereby the maximum number of people belonging to the lower middle class and the poor classes are covered by some sort of insurance scheme so as to provide some security and relief in old age and to develop habits of thrift and saving.

In the context of all the foregoing, the question of administrative machinery needs particular attention. The high officialdom remains bureaucratic and irresponsible to popular urges and continues as of old to regard personal comfort, advancement and pleasures as primary. At other levels it is also highly corrupt and inefficient leading to innumerable public grievances and harassments and has the net result of disfiguring the image of the Congress Government in popular eyes. Corruption is an evil which destroys people's confidence and becomes a deterrent to the mobilisation of popular cooperation and participation for the implementation of national plans. Peoples' participation being an essential pre-condition for the success of our plans and for socialistic advance, it becomes necessary to take drastic and emergent steps to root out corruption from the administration at all levels. The Delhi Pradesh Congress Committee is of the opinion that corrupt officers should be given exemplary punishment and the entire Government cadre should be given a minimum of education in the purposes of State policy.

Further, with a view to ensure proper functioning of the administrative machinery and its officers and in order to ensure against red-tape and bureaucratic delays, it is necessary to concretely fix the responsibility for implementation of planned programmes at all levels and non-implementation should be punished.

In order to bring about at an early date a democratic socialist society, the quality of the individual in society becomes highly important. Our socialist society will carry the ethical and moral standards of our ancient land and as such our old

ethical and spiritual values will have to be fostered. This high order of the individual in society would be possible of attainment only when Congressmen act as torch-bearers with devotion to their ideology and strong discipline.

It is the duty of Congressmen that the ideals for which they work are increasingly adopted by the entire people and show of wealth and ostentatious ways are given up. This they can best ensure by themselves leading a life of simplicity. This becomes all the more essential for Congressmen in positions of authority and power who have to avoid any ostentation and pomp in their lives and in family functions. It is of the utmost importance that contradictions in pronouncements, thinking and action are reduced to minimum.

Congress is the organisation of India's destiny and it has yet to play a very great part in re-building a new Socialist India. The socialism of the Congressmen emerges from the experience of the great Congress organisation, from India's genius and its ancient past, and is tempered with tolerance and goodwill for all. It is as much opposed to fascistic trends as to totalitarian type of socialism. It upholds the freedom of the individual and is opposed to regimentation and dictatorship.

Thus, democratic socialism is the high ideal for which Congressmen work. Those opposed to this ideology, whether from this end or that, should leave the organisation. Congressmen can lead the people, can secure their co-operation in the great historical task of building a Socialist India only by being fully educated in their ideology and only by being with the people in all their struggles, trials and tribulations.

FUTURE Five Plans should be so formulated as to accelerate the achievement of the objective of the socialistic society.

The programme of industrialisation should be so fashioned that minimum employment is assured to every able-bodied citizen of India and a date-line should be fixed for total removal of unemployment and under-employment in the country.

A national scheme of social security to provide against old age and sickness should be introduced commencing from the Fourth Five Year Plan.

A ratio between the highest and the lowest income should be determined and a target should be fixed for its achievement.

There should be a ceiling on urban lands and houses. Urban house-building should be so organised that poorer section is benefited by controlling the distribution of building materials. Monopoly and concentration of urban lands and buildings should be stopped.

The private sector should conform itself to the socialistic pattern of society. There should be no monopoly in this sector; to achieve this end, the industrial licensing policy has to be modified so as to ensure wide distribution of industry throughout the country and the people.

Regional disparity should be removed by establishment of industries, specially in public sector, in the less developed parts of the country.

Banks should be nationalised.

The nationalisation of industries should be expanded and accelerated.

In the matter of paying compensation for lands and properties acquired, the quantum should be fixed according to the nature of the cause for which it is acquired ; a minimum of the amount of compensation should be fixed in conformity with the principle of socialism.

The cooperative sector should be strengthened and expanded so as to include trade in essential commodities as well as processing industries.

In the matter of assistance to the private sector in industry and trade in the form of credit or otherwise, the pattern should be so set that the weaker sections within the said sector get benefit out of such programmes of assistance.

Workers' Councils should be formed in all industries so as to enable workers to participate in their management.

Fragmentation of agricultural holdings should be abolished and consolidation of holdings to make them economic units should be expedited. This will require diversion of people from agriculture to industry.

Provision should be made for free education upto the Higher Secondary stage by the end of the Fourth Five Year Plan.

The lower levels of technical education like education in Industrial Training Institutes and Polytechnics should be made free ; and for higher technical education adequate assistance in the form of stipends should be liberally given to the deserving students.

Provision should be made in the education system of the country so as to inculcate and develop moral and ethical values and sense of discipline in the children and youth of the country while they are in educational institutions.

For the implementation of the above objectives, the administrative machinery does not fit in with our object of democracy and socialism in respect of both efficiency and outlook ; it should, therefore, be thoroughly overhauled and re-oriented and recast to meet the new situation.

FIVE

Punjab Congress Legislature Party

IT is time to realise that even though the establishment of socialistic pattern of society was adopted as the main objective of the Congress in 1955 at Avadi Session, the common man has not felt much the impact of the socialist programme. Although some advance has been made towards economic regeneration, the socialist goal has not been achieved so far.

2. Whereas there is a tendency of wealth getting concentrated in the hands of a few individuals, families or groups, the pressure on the domestic economy of the Indian masses particularly the peasantry and the middle class and the workers, has been increasing as a result of the constant rise of prices of some of the essential goods through the manipulations of the distribution agency and such other profit-motivated intermediaries. The programme of agrarian reforms, to which the Indian National Congress was committed even before independence, has not so far been implemented with full vigour in all States ; nor has the cooperative sector of rural economy expanded in the desired proportion.

3. It is, therefore, necessary to take some concrete steps to bring about a radical change in the rural and urban spheres of life fairly quickly, so that the Indian masses develop a greater confidence in the philosophy of Democratic Socialism and work for its attainment and defence with redoubled vigour. Our new slogan should be : Community before Individual ; the country above everything. The pace of implementation of the programme designed to bring about real equality and to promote general well-being of the community should be accelerated in strict accordance with the fundamental principles of socialism based on democracy, dignity of the individual and compatible with the general good of the society. The country should strive for the completion of these programmes by the end of the Fourth 5-Year Plan and the necessary organisational changes should be carried out in the next two years.

4. The first and foremost aim of a Government committed to socialism should be to guarantee shelter, clothing and food to its citizens and to protect the interests of the comparatively under-developed and backward sections of the community. It is absolutely necessary to provide equal opportunities of gainful employment for all.

5. Considering the fact that disproportionate capital gains lead to economic inequalities, which is opposed to the underlying aims of a socialistic pattern of society, steps should be taken to put a ceiling on private wealth and to bridge the gap between the lowest and the highest individual incomes ; the ratio between the minimum and the maximum income may not be more than 1 : 15.

6. To promote general well-being in a system of properly regulated wages and incomes, gainful employment should be provided to all able-bodied persons, and the basic social services should be broadened in scope and further strengthened. The State should introduce universal free education, free health services, and disability and unemployment benefits. A comprehensive system of old age benefits and pensions should be evolved which should guarantee social security to all citizens irrespective of whether they are employed in the State organisation or not. Compulsory Employees State Insurance should be introduced in all sectors.

7. To achieve the end of rapid socio-economic transformation of the country designed to establish a socialistic pattern of society, we should evolve, and with speed implement, a programme development of Agriculture and Industry and regulation of production and distribution as elaborated hereunder :

(a) Agriculture

(i) The unsatisfactory increase in agricultural production in the country indicates that sufficient attention has not been given to the question of revolutionization of agricultural production by means of making the benefits of science and technology available to the farmer.

Further, it is necessary to strengthen the impression that the aim of State policy is not to take control of land but to give land to the tiller by taking it away from those who have

either no vital interest in its development or from those with whom it is surplus. We should also declare that the basic purpose of new agricultural policy is to provide conditions of security, in which the individual ownership of land is not violated so that scientific land use and mechanisation of agriculture becomes possible. Service Cooperatives should be promoted. The farmer should be encouraged to create sufficient marketable surplus so that after meeting the requirement of the tiller and his family, surplus produce contributes to the raising of standard of living of the farmer in consonance with the dignity of a free citizen and stimulates further industrialization.

(ii) Considering the fact that the land available for cultivation is limited as compared to the pressure of agricultural production, monoculture should be replaced by multiculture which implies that dairying, poultry, fishery and livestock-rearing should open new avenues of economic progress. Greater rural industrialization should be promoted to provide gainful employment to the surplus unemployed or under-employed agricultural population.

(iii) The State should take steps to integrate the agricultural population into the larger pattern of semi-urban and urban population, so that 20 per cent of the agricultural population can be diverted to industry in the first five years, 30 per cent in the next five years, and another 25 per cent in the next five years, thus diverting at least 75 per cent of the unproductive human resource to more productive spheres of industry.

(iv) Land revenue, the vestige of the old system of monarchy and feudalism, should be abolished as it is incompatible with our Republican form of Government and the socialistic pattern of society.

(v) A fair price should be guaranteed to the agricultural producer by taking over control of procurement and distribution machinery and making it so streamlined that all hazards of exploitation at the hands of the middlemen and intermediaries are eliminated, who have been appropriating to themselves a sizeable share of the earnings to the detriment of the producer and the consumer.

(vi) As an essential pre-requisite to the modernization of agriculture, the State should take responsibility of providing reliable facilities of irrigation, cheap electricity, quality seeds

and fertilizers, agricultural implements, pesticides and insecticides, and transportation for the purpose of marketing.

(vii) To enable even the small farmer to benefit from the advantages of modern science and technology, cooperative activity should be promoted with firm purpose so that it can play a significant role in providing credit, supplies and marketing facilities to the agriculturists. In areas where joint farming is not preferred at present, the State should establish small posts of technical aid so that the farmer can receive guidance in the matter of soil, seeds and manures, etc., and loan the services of useful agricultural equipment.

(viii) There should be no control over the multiplication of livestock provided the farmer cooperates in the improvement of breed and optimum utilisation of livestock.

(ix) The State should introduce Crop Insurance Scheme to safeguard the interests of the cultivator against uncertain climatic conditions, floods and drought.

(b) Industry

(i) The erroneous impression that the State is committed to a rapid programme of nationalisation of industry which connotes State-ownership and control of the means of production should be corrected. The aim of the State should be increased production with the help of an expanding network of industries, both in the public and private sectors, and the fair and equitable distribution of the produce. Some reorientation of Industrial Policy is, therefore, necessary.

(ii) In the present phase of development, the State should give more latitude to the expansion of industry either with indigenous capital or with foreign collaboration, but plan and regulate its growth so that proper emphasis is placed on the basic industries, but without unduly neglecting the consumer goods industries which are necessary for raising the standard of living in a welfare society and keeping the people contented.

(iii) There should be no doubt that the public sector has to grow and that the basic key industries like Steel, Mining, Shipping, Transport, Defence Production, etc., would remain in the public sector. But there should be no control over medium-scale and small-scale industries except in the matter of ensuring that no unit makes unreasonable profits at the cost

of the community, which implies price control and free distribution through State organs as discussed in subsequent paragraphs.

(iv) To regulate foreign participation in Indian industry, the present policy of the Government of India in regard to the re-investment of the bulk of the earnings in the country should continue.

(c) Regulation of Production and Distribution

(i) As no control is intended to be exercised on the creation of small and medium scale industrial units, it would not be necessary to have the existing restrictive system of licensing and control. All raw materials, whether indigenous or imported, should be supplied by the State ; in return, the total produce of consumer goods and essential commodities should be taken by the State at fixed prices.

(ii) While fixing the price of a product, steps should be taken to preserve incentive for better and higher production ; the costing should take into account a reasonable interest on the capital and reasonable profit on the gross earning. There should be special premium for enhanced production.

(iii) Agricultural and industrial produce thus procured should be exclusively distributed through the State organs which should ensure that goods become available to all freely and at fair prices.

(iv) To ensure against any malpractices in privately-owned industrial concerns, the State should take control of the internal accounts and external audit of these units and also ensure that the accountants cadre is manned by personnel of ability and integrity.

(v) The manpower at present employed in the commercial and trading professions which would be laid off should be absorbed in the State procurement and distribution organisations so that no hardship is caused as a result of the State taking over functions of distribution, and commercial talent in the country is put to optimum use in interest of public good.

(d) Foreign Trade

(i) As the State has to undertake the responsibility of private and public sectors, and to manage the distribution of produced

goods, it would imply the total nationalisation of the Import and Export Trade.

(ii) The Import-Export policy should be regulated keeping in view the fundamental needs of the national economy.

(iii) To boost up the export drive, the State should ensure the modernization of industrial plants and strict adherence to standardization and quality control.

(c) The Fiscal Pattern

(i) As a reasonable ceiling is proposed to be placed on individual income, there would not be any necessity to levy income-tax, except wealth tax, and estate duty to prevent accumulation of hereditary wealth creating social inequalities.

(ii) Fiscal policy should make the building of industrial empires, monopolies and cartels impossible.

(iii) Like the nationalisation of Life Insurance, General Insurance and Banking should also be nationalised so as to regulate the conservation and use of money in the national interest.

9. To achieve this programme of rapid economic development, it is essential to have personnel free from the narrow loyalties of community and caste, language and region, and which should be responsive to public needs and of unimpeachable integrity. Useful skills and techniques should be developed under an ambitious programme of personnel training so that the demand of modern agriculture and Industry can be met and manpower can contribute more to enrich the community. Whereas the State should provide differential wages under the overall ceiling of private income and provide healthy incentives to better quality work, it is also necessary to award deterrent punishments upto life imprisonment to those who are guilty of misappropriation or embezzlement in the public undertakings. Corruption should be rooted out ruthlessly from public and private life.

10. Having realised the fact that the Press, which is the most important organ of public opinion, has passed into the hands of a few capitalists and that there is grave danger of socialism being sabotaged by this powerful monopoly rooted in vested interest, it is necessary to immediately nationalise the Press in the country so that the people are not exploited by unscrupulous vested interests.

11. The nation has to be made to realise that unless each one of us is prepared to defend the country, our hard-won freedom would be in jeopardy. People have to remember that those who desire to be socialists have to fight for the defence of socialism, and that the surest way to defend socialism is to strengthen the vital defences of the country against external aggression and internal sabotage. Both the ends can be served by giving concrete proof that socialism means, freedom from the want, human dignity, and real equality, achieved by the free and full participation of the individual in the programme of dynamic social and economic revolution.

THE Executive Committee of the Mysore Legislature Congress Party in its meeting held on 27th December discussed the draft on "Democracy and Socialism" which was generally approved by the All India Congress Committee at Jaipur Session held on 3rd and 4th November, 1963. After detailed consideration, the Committee, while substantially endorsing the basic principles and policies underlying the resolution, desired to make the following recommendations for consideration and for effecting necessary amendments by the A.I.C.C. at Bhubaneswar :

(i) The Committee felt that with a view to step-up food production for the teeming millions of our population and to give purchasing power for a better standard of life to the rural community, whose main occupation is agriculture, top priority should be given in the sequence to agricultural production, irrigation, power, industry and transport.

(ii) The price of agricultural products should be regulated and stabilised and if possible the floor price should be fixed from time to time so that the cultivators may continue to receive sufficient incentive for maximising agricultural production.

(iii) The growth of population in the country, which is increasing in geometrical progression, has rudely upset the plan objectives. The percentage of rise in the population has outstripped the percentage of rise in the per capita income in spite of the execution of two Plans. So it is imperative and advisable to take necessary steps to arrest the growth of population in a radical manner.

(iv) The present administrative machinery, which is a legacy of the British rule with its bureaucratic outlook, control and direction, has failed to translate into action the principles and policies of the Congress Party which is running the administration. When we are planning for the establishment of a socialistic pattern of society through democratic methods, it is imperative that our administrative system should be redesigned to cope with the new situation.

(v) The Congress Party should hereafter function on an ideological basis which calls for the amendment of its Constitution regarding the enrolment of members, and fixing of qualification stated below for office-bearers : Persons who have absolutely no faith in Congress ideology have occupied important posts both in the Congress organisation as well as the Government, as a consequence of which various reforms could not be effected as desired by the Party. Therefore, the Congress Constitution should be amended prohibiting any member getting into the elective offices of the Party for a period of not less than five years from the date of enrolment as an active member. The Constitution should also provide for preparation of an eligibility list of members who could contest the election to fill any office either in the Party set-up or to get into the Parliamentary field even after five years, after a careful watch, study and screening of the members.

Preamble

THE Indian National Congress, in its role as the emancipator of the country from alien rule was not concerned merely with the winning of political freedom, but had a social objective also. This social objective of the national movement was brought into greater prominence after the advent of Gandhiji's leadership. This was given expression to in the various resolutions of the Congress, notable amongst them being the Karachi Resolution of 1931. Various constructive programmes of Mahatmaji, particularly communal harmony, removal of untouchability, social uplift of women, rural development and cottage industries—all these had a social objective to achieve, while the new forces released by these programmes lent strength to the freedom movement.

National Goal

2. After the attainment of freedom, naturally the Congress as the party in power was called upon to give concrete shape to these social objectives, and take positive steps to achieve the goal. The preamble of the Indian Constitution, and the Directive Principles contained therein, were formulated with this purpose in view, and with the adoption of the Constitution these became national goals and objectives.

It is felt that even after so many years there is not enough conscious commitment of the nation as a whole to the above objective. It is suggested that the political parties openly opposed to the national goal should not be given any State recognition in the political life of the country.

Avadi Resolution

3. It is in this context that the Avadi Session of the Congress in 1955 laid down that in order to realise the object of the Congress and to further the objectives stated in the Preamble and Directive Principles of State policy of the

Constitution of India, planning should take place with a view to the establishment of a Socialistic Pattern of Society, where the principal means of production are under social ownership or control, production is progressively speeded up, and there is equitable distribution of the national wealth. In 1957, the Congress formally adopted the establishment by peaceful and legitimate means of a Socialist Cooperative Commonwealth as its objective in Art. 1 of its Constitution. Thus, the establishment of a "Socialist Pattern of Society" came to be adopted as the aim and objective of the Congress. Throughout its eventful history, the Congress has been steadily and consciously moving towards this objective.

democratic methods and values as enshrined in the Constitution of India. *The Congress objective may thus be defined as the establishment of a secular, democratic, socialistic society through democratic means.*

Implications of Socialism

7. Socialism does not consist merely in a more equitable distribution of the existing wealth and opportunities. If it has to liberate the teeming millions of India from grinding poverty, disease and ignorance, it should also aim at rapid economic development of the country, with continually rising levels of agricultural and industrial production. The slow growth of our economy has hitherto been primarily due to the absence of clear-cut objectives, detailed and down-to-earth planning, specially in creating a trained, honest and ideologically conscious administrative cadre for implementing the Plans. It is because of this that we have not been able to properly utilise even the available human and material resources of the country, and this also explains our failure to take sufficient advantage of the advance in science and technology.

Problem of Rural Unemployment

8. In order to rapidly transform our present-backward ways of agricultural and industrial production into efficient and modern systems, it is absolutely necessary to make full use of scientific knowledge and the modern techniques of advanced technology. This will greatly help in solving the problem of rural unemployment by providing a net-work of small-scale and cottage industries run with the help of power.

Planning is inescapable

9. To secure a satisfactory growth and a strong industrial base for the economy, recourse to planning becomes inescapable. We have limited resources in terms of materials, skills and technical know-how. To utilise these scarce resources to the best advantage, priorities have to be laid down and appropriate policies and organizations have to be evolved for their effective implementation. The Congress has, therefore, accepted the concept of planned economic development.

Discipline of planned economy

10. The discipline of planned economy necessarily involves a considerable amount of regulation at various levels to realise the targets of production, as well as the social objectives of the Plan. It is necessary to ensure that economic development should not result in widening of disparities of income and concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment. If that happens, social stability will be endangered. If, on the other hand, the people have before them a picture of a just social order which is becoming a reality step by step before their eyes, their enthusiasm and cooperation in the tasks of development would itself become a very substantial factor in the augmentation of resources and acceleration of the pace of progress.

Annual targets of national minimum

11. In this context, it is of the highest importance that the provision of basic needs of every individual is ensured, and a national minimum, comprising the essential requirements in respect of food, clothing, housing, education and health, is established as speedily as possible. The nation should set before itself a goal in this respect, and annual targets be fixed for each of these items, and let it be a statutory responsibility of the administrative unit concerned to attain that target within the given time. Promotion, demotion and transfer of public servants should depend on their performance in the achievement of the target. It would be reasonable to expect that the objectives will be substantially realised by the end of the Fifth Plan. Otherwise, planning and progress will become devoid of meaning for the common man. This will itself become a means of reducing the vast disparities in income and wealth which exist now. Other steps will also have to be taken so that the distance between the bottom and the top rungs is reduced in a striking manner in a reasonable period of time. These will be in the spheres both of policy and organisation.

Public Sector and Private Sector

12. As laid down in the Industrial Policy Resolution of the Government of India the public sector has to play a strategic and predominant role in the economic development of the country. The private sector has to function purely within the frame-

work of national planning, and in harmony with its over-all aims. There must be continuous stress on the social obligations of the private sector. It should also be ensured that the opportunities made available to the private sector do not lead to the concentration of economic power in the hands of a small number of individuals and business houses. Banks and basic and large-scale industries should be brought under the public sector, and the private sector should not be allowed any further growth in the above fields. Trade in the products of basic and heavy industries should be confined to the public and cooperative sectors. It should be our policy to insist that so long as the national minimum in respect of food, clothing, housing and health is not achieved, foodgrains, cloth, housing material, medicines and drugs be included in the statutory definition of essential commodities. The scope of the functions of the State Trading Corporation should be enlarged so as to include purchase of foodgrains, and other essential commodities direct from the producers, and their distribution direct to the consumer, either through its own agencies, or through cooperative retail shops. Thus, by eliminating the present non-productive and purely profit-sharing class of managing agents, commission agents and wholesalers it would be possible, on the one hand, to maintain a reasonable price line, and, on the other, to strengthen the State exchequer. In the private sector, the cooperative method of organization should occupy an increasingly important place, specially in the field of agriculture, small-scale and processing industries and retail trade.

Responsibility of Public Sector

13. The public sector, the socialist way of production and distribution, in order to prove its superior worth over the traditional capitalist way, must eventually lead to certain conditions. It must show better results in respect of quality of goods produced, better service conditions for employees, including their active participation in the management of industry, rate of expansion of industry, easier availability of goods to the consumer, and more efficient administration of industries, including proper use of the latest available scientific techniques in production and management. It should be the concern of the State to see that the private sector firms

do not succeed in running down the public sector by indulging in unfair competition with it. A proper publicity machinery should also be set up to publicise the achievements of the public sector. Care should be taken to ensure proper application of labour laws and other conditions of service to workers in both the sectors. Proper steps should be taken to enable the worker to feel a sense of participation in industry and to achieve the maximum production.

Controls and Price Level

14. For the low income groups and the vulnerable sections of the community, the price level is a matter of vital concern. A rise in prices is usually not compensated by an equivalent increase in income in most cases. While the main stress has to be on taking all possible steps to increase production, when shortages develop, steps have to be taken to prevent exploitation of the conditions of scarcity. Controls have to be applied when they become indispensable in the larger interest of the community. The objection of the people is not to control as such but to their faulty administration. Every effort should be made to ensure the successful operation of such controls by efficient and honest administrations and by enlisting the cooperation of the people. It should, however, be realized that the experience of the people with controls has been very bitter in the past ; and all our distribution schemes are bound to fail in the absence of a rational and scientific management of the civil supplies system. While it is indispensable to increase the production of goods in scarcity, it is equally essential to discourage waste, and to develop a well-trained civil supplies cadre fully responsible for specified tasks. Controlled distribution of goods must necessarily lead to easier availability of goods at proper prices.

Land Reforms

16. The aim of the Congress policy in regard to land has been that the actual tiller of the land should be brought into direct relationship with the State and the intermediary interests should be eliminated. Further, there should be a maximum limit on the size of the holding under personal cultivation. The agricultural worker should receive special consideration in respect of the minimum wage and employment in secondary occupation. The goal of land reforms should be a cooperative rural economy based on the village community and on voluntary association. The implementation of land reforms has been uneven in the country. Statutory obligations be laid on various State Governments to complete the whole programme of land reforms within the next two years. Co-operation should play a major role in providing credit supplies and market facilities to the agriculturists. Wherever possible, joint cooperative farming should be organised with the consent of the cultivators concerned. It is as well necessary that where the cultivable land of more than one thousand acres be available, State farms be organised with the help of modern techniques of cultivation. Panchayat Raj and Community Development have a great role to play in this programme. State should provide tangible incentives and substantial encouragement to farmers taking to the co-operative system.

Plan for Education

17. The handicap of the common man and the weaker section of the community can be overcome to a considerable extent, and equality of opportunity provided by giving a special orientation to our activities in the field of social service and by bolder steps in the direction of a programme of social security. While some measures can be adopted for the relief and assistance in cases of hardships, the most fruitful use of resources will have to be based on some scheme of priorities in this field also. For example, in the rural areas, within a very limited time, the provision of drinking water should be made universal. The spread of educational facilities is another matter of high priority. In this, and in respect of health, the child should receive the first consideration. Equality of opportunity should start from the birth of the child. Every child should have the necessary facili-

ties for education according to his capacity, and no promising child should be prevented from attaining the highest level of which he is capable, because of the poverty of the parents. The time has come when the Government of India must take into consideration the proposition of making education a Central Subject, and then nationalise the whole education right from the primary stage to the university stage. It would ensure a uniform policy of education throughout the country, and would help to better the condition of teachers and provide larger facilities with utmost convenience to the students. Education is a vital subject, and a distinct plan for it should be made out so as to bring it in harmony with the national objectives.

Science and Technology

18. The achievement of higher living standards and the provision of social justice and social security depend on our success in securing rapid economic development. This becomes possible only by full utilization of science and technology. Indeed, a socialist society cannot be conceived of except in the context of a continuing advance in science and technology. Scientific and technical education should, therefore, be organised on a wide basis, and conditions should be created for the rapid progress of research and growth of a scientific outlook and climate in the country. Indian scientists abroad should be persuaded to return home so that their talents may be utilized in the task of national reconstruction. At the same time, there should be proper co-ordination between the needs for scientific and technical talent and their availability. If need be, the State should not hesitate in resorting to conscription of scientific and technical personnel in the interest of the nation.

While emphasizing the crucial importance of scientific and technological education for the rapid development of our economy, and for setting India in the line of modern nations, we should guard against the dangers of over-specialisation and of making education lop-sided. While a very large number of young men and women are to be trained in modern scientific ways, our aim is not to turn India into a nation of technocrats. Therefore, syllabus and other programmes of teaching should aim at providing a properly balanced education to the young. There should be some scope for teaching of humanities to stu-

dents of science, and of science to students of humanities. In short, our education should aim at a harmonious development of the human personality.

Suggestions to fight anti-social practices and corruption

19. Another aspect of our economic and social situation in the country which has not received due attention is the prevalence of anti-social practices, which have a considerable bearing on the concentration of wealth, growth of disparities and of monopolistic trends. Speculative gains, the illegitimate incomes in a variety of forms and evasion of obligations under various laws have led to the presence of large amounts of unaccounted money in the hands of unscrupulous individuals. The activities of such anti-social elements result in large distortions in the economy, and the unhealthy tendencies which they release can undermine the foundations of the social and political life of the country.

One root cause of corruption is the inordinate respect enjoyed by wealth in our society. One way of curbing the power of money is to discourage or completely prohibit the production and import of non-essential luxury goods, if not for all times to come, then at least for some time. It should be an integral part of State policy to discountenance all public display of wealth and ostentation. The existing disparities in income may not be easy to abolish in the near future, but steps can definitely be taken to prevent the vain show of wealth by the rich. This will certainly include restraint on party and State dignitaries in participating in public dinners, etc., and in associating with the rich. State and party dignitaries should also be required to eschew excessive ostentation and wasteful expenditure in marriages and other social and family functions. Only then can the common people be expected to follow their example.

Another way of curbing corruption in the administration is to change contractors and Government officials with long-term liability for their work. They should be answerable for any faulty work done, neglect of duty, or deliberately corrupt practice at any stage at which their guilt is discovered. In order to free the Congress party, consequently the administration, from the over-domineering influence of big money, the elective positions of the party, and tickets for legislative bodies should not be given

to persons earning or owning wealth beyond a specified limit; and care should also be taken that defaulters in regard to financial obligations to the State should not be chosen for any party post. Chosen representatives of the people and Government servants should all be required to declare their holdings in cash or kind annually, and proper vigilance be kept on how they accumulate their wealth. All gifts and presentations made to them during their tenure of office should be handed over to the State, and there should be Ombudsman committees to examine and decide complaints of corruption against Ministers or high officials. There should be statutory bar on high Government pensioners to join any private service in the private sector or big private business houses. All possible steps should be taken in all walks of life to reduce the advantages accruing from possession of too much wealth, so that their corrupting influence may not pose a threat to democracy and socialism.

Threat of Press Monopolies

Whereas it is of utmost importance to protect the freedom of the press from unwarranted State encroachments, it is equally essential to guard against the growth of private newspaper monopolies. The growing tendency towards the control of the national press by a few business magnates poses a serious danger to the growth of our democratic society. The Government should take positive steps to control this trend.

Congressmen to symbolize Socialist Philosophy

20. Socialism does not merely signify changes in the economic relations in society. It involves fundamental changes in the social structure, in ways of thinking and in ways of living. Caste and class have no place in the socialist order that is envisaged by the Congress. Old ideas about privilege on the basis of birth or caste or class or money or the hierarchy of office should be discarded. The dignity of labour should be recognised. Indeed, the dignity of the individual in every grade of life should be ensured. Congressmen in their every day life should become examples of this socialist philosophy. In organisational elections and in selecting candidates for legislatures, every care must be taken that no one, howsoever high, is selected on the basis of birth or caste or money or in the order of suc-

cession. Only merit, integrity and faith in democratic socialist ideology should be considered.

Ethical Values

21. Though our society should certainly work for providing a tolerably high and comfortable standard of living to the people by satisfying all their legitimate wants, it should not aim at the creation and acquisition of wealth for its own sake. A just and equalitarian social order must also lead to the inculcation of those moral and ethical values that make life rich and purposeful. All our social institutions should foster in the individual simplicity and grace, love of beauty, dignity of creative labour, devotion to the common good of all, and a regard for international obligations. It is only on this basis that the present-day acquisitive structure can be gradually changed into a society which is socialist and yet provides adequate incentives for the full development of the individual and the community.

Close eye on Progress

22. The party machine at various levels should not be allowed to interfere directly in the day to day working of the administration. But it should definitely act as watch dog of people's interests. The various Congress organs must be charged with responsibility to fully equip themselves with the details of the plans and targets to be achieved in various fields, so that they may keep a close eye on the progress of various schemes, spotlight bottlenecks, and suggest ways to speed up the pace of work.

Workers' Training

In order that Congressmen at various levels may discharge their duties effectively, it is necessary that they should be fully conversant with the basic objectives of the organization and with the details of programme they are supposed to support and supervise. With this end in view, it is suggested that the Congress should draw up and carry out a comprehensive programme of workers' education ; and it should start a centrally situated college for training in public affairs for those of its workers who intend to enter legislative bodies or to take up elective positions in the organization. It should be clearly real-

ized that the Congress can fulfil its historic responsibility of social and economic transformation of India only with the help of a large number of capable, properly trained and devoted workers.

Ideological Vigilance Body

23. It has been noted that inspite of the fact that the Congress is wedded to certain clear-cut social and economic objectives, various units of the Central or State Governments take steps directly opposed to the declared policies of the party and the State. This leads to great confusion and frustration among the rank and file of the organisation. In order to avoid this, it is suggested that there should be an All India Ideological Vigilance Body at the centre, consisting of men of ability and integrity, and known for their faith in the ideals of democratic socialism. It should be the duty of this body to examine all the draft bills, budgets and decisions of the various deliberative organs of State, and ensure that no decisions are taken that are opposed to the basic aims and fundamental policies of the party. Every citizen of India should be entitled to move this body whenever ideological questions are involved in Government decisions. The intention is that the practice of the Government should be entirely in conformity with its socialistic professions

Vision of a New Social Order

24. This is the vision of a society which the Indian National Congress envisages, wherein poverty, disease and ignorance shall be eliminated, wherein property and privilege in any form shall occupy limited place, wherein all citizens will have equal opportunities and wherein ethical and spiritual values shall contribute to the enrichment of individual and social life.

EIGHT

**Bandra Vile Parle
District Congress Com-
mittee, Bombay**

IN Jaipur A.I.C.C. a resolution on 'Socialism and Democracy' was discussed and many members participated in the discussions. Most of the members impressed the urgency to achieve socialism and were of the opinion that concrete programme for achieving socialism should be incorporated in the resolution. This will give true and correct picture of socialism. This will stop all discussion on different interpretations of socialism and its contents. All the Congressmen will know what they have to do for achieving socialism, and therefore, it is felt that detailed programme should be incorporated in the resolution on Socialism and Democracy. This will avoid different interpretations and energies of Congressmen will not be frittered away in futile discussions. Those who believe in the programme of genuine Socialism and Democracy will remain in the Congress as true and genuine believer in the faith of Socialism and Democracy, and those who do not believe in genuine socialism will leave the organisation. It is felt that the Congress organisation will not be weakened but strengthened by this. Members of other parties and individuals will also feel that Congress means business and really wants to achieve socialism. All genuine socialists who believe in democracy will join Congress and the party will be much stronger than it is now. It is, therefore, suggested that the following programme be incorporated in the resolution on 'Democracy and Socialism'.

First principle to achieve socialism is that equal opportunities be given to all irrespective of caste, age, creed, colour, sex, religion or otherwise. There should be equality of sacrifice, that is, everybody will get opportunity to mould oneself according to one's ability and everybody will contribute according to one's capacity.

There should not be exploitation by those having huge economic power. Secondly, the fruit of toil should go to the toiler. The individual should be assured and he should know that he has his full share in the products produced by his sweat, or by his

intelligence and ability. It is well known that manipulations in accounts is going on in a large scale in the country to pay less taxes and to pay less bonus.

There is concentration of wealth in few hands who control the economy of the whole country; and with that power they control the political power in the country. There is large-scale hoarding of foodgrains and other commodities which results in high prices. There is large amount of unaccounted money which gives philip to blackmarketing and enables to corrupt others for achieving political power; the State is deprived of its dues by way of taxation and consumers have to pay high prices. It cannot be denied that corruption is prevalent at all levels.

To remedy these and to give real political and economic power to the people, following suggestions are made :

1. Public sector shall be expanded by nationalisation of basic industries and State partnership in industries producing consumers goods like sugar, textiles, etc.

2. Ceiling on land prices in A and B Class cities.

3. Banks should be nationalised.

4. There should be State trading in foodgrains.

5. No licences should be issued to established importers, but licences be issued to actual users after thorough verification.

6. Audit of the public companies having paid-up capital of more than 25 lakhs should be conducted by Auditors appointed by the Government.

7. (i) Taxation laws should be amended to give no scope, as far as possible, for dividing income only for the purpose of evading tax. It is, therefore, suggested that the scope of section 64(i) of the Income Tax Act be extended to any income of the spouse; that is to say, the income of husband and wife be clubbed together.

- (ii) The partnership firm be taxed as a separate unit.

- (iii) Agricultural income be made subject to taxation. Firstly, big landlords should be asked pay for income earned and put at par with others. Secondly, black money earned in non-agricultural business should not be converted in white money without taxation.

8. Purchasing power of poor men's money should be increased by abolishing excise duty on daily consumption goods and coarse cloth and foodgrains be supplied at subsidised prices.

Sales tax laws should be amended in such a way that burden of taxation is equitably distributed; that is to say, the burden should be according to the capacity of the individual. At present it is not so. It is, therefore, suggested that there should not be any sales tax on daily consumption items such as edible oil, washing soaps, tea, foodgrains, etc. There will be loss of revenue to some extent but this can be recouped by abolishing refund which is granted to manufacturers and those who sell goods outside the State. This helps the manufacturers in accumulation of extra profit which is not coming into account for costing purposes and the prices of the commodities remain at the same level. The law should also be simplified to minimise corruption and harassment of the small dealers.

Now we shall say about providing equal opportunities to all individuals. Everybody has right to develop one's talents and use the same for his benefit and for the benefit of the nation. This can be achieved by the individual only if he is given proper education and training. Therefore, it is necessary to apply the principle that education be given *on the basis of the merits and not on riches*, and, therefore, it is suggested that education should be free upto S.S.C. (Matric), irrespective of whether the individual is rich or poor. The children of those parents or guardians whose yearly income is less than Rs. 1500 should be provided with books, etc.; and, to start with, primary class students should be served with free meal.

As regards higher education, what is called college education, the same should be strictly on the basis of merit. It is, therefore, suggested that there should be two types of colleges, (i) run by Government and the education therein should be completely free. The admissions to these colleges should be centralised and strictly on merit which should be based on marks obtained in the S.S.C. (Matric), and afterwards in the intermediate class, for medical and technical students.

To avoid malpractices and corruption, marks received by successful candidates who have been given admission should be shown against their names and put on the notice board so that no injustice is done to any individual. There should not be any other test except results in annual examination; otherwise influential and rich students will get admissions by undesirable means. (ii) There should be no objection to private colleges preferably

run by educational societies who may charge fees from students seeking admission in those colleges ; but Government should not give any financial assistance whatsoever to such colleges as it has to run free colleges.

Government should start such colleges on the above basis according to its resources, but the principle should be strictly implemented so that the son of a poor kisan or a factory worker or a gumasta can get higher education in our land and rise to high status according to his ability to serve the motherland.

It is also necessary that the poorer section of our community, especially those residing in rural areas, be provided with medical and such other aid. It is, therefore, suggested that every doctor shall sacrifice one day in a month to serve poorer countrymen. Therefore, panels of all doctors should be prepared districtwise, and mobile camps be organised by the Government or Panchayat giving full facilities to those doctors. For these purposes, a proper programme should be chalked out. Similarly, lists of eminent physicians and surgeons of the cities should also be prepared Statewise and they should give one to two weeks a year for the benefit of poorer section of the community. For this purpose surgical camps should be arranged and free medical aid be given there. In every district there should be organised such camps every six months. It is difficult to get services of all doctors voluntarily and, therefore, for the benefit of the society compulsion to a reasonable and fair extent is necessary. Therefore, some set of rules be framed prescribing that all the doctors who are in private practice be required to hold certificate of practice. One of the rules for granting or renewal of the certificate should be that every doctor shall give one day a month for medical services for the cause of poorer section of the community as per the programme chalked out by the Government for him and as per the terms and conditions to be prescribed by the Government for the purpose.

The same principle may also be applied to other professions, e.g., Legal profession, Architects, Chartered Accountants, etc. in the respective fields for helping the countrymen and the nation.

THE Indian National Congress in its role as the emancipator of the country from the alien rule was not concerned merely with the winning of political freedom but had a social objective also. This social objective was brought into greater prominence after the advent of Gandhiji's leadership. It progressively took concrete shape through various resolutions of the Congress, notable amongst them being the Karachi Resolution of 1931.

2. After the attainment of freedom, as the party in power the Congress was called upon to give concrete shape to these social objectives and take positive action to fulfil them. The Preamble of the Indian Constitution and its Directive Principles were formulated with this end in view and the formal adoption of the Constitution gave these objectives the status of national goal.

3. The Avadi Session of the Congress in 1955 laid down that in order to realise the ideals of the Congress and to further the objectives stated in the Preamble and Directive Principles of State Policy in the Constitution of India, planning should be adopted as the technique for establishing a socialistic pattern of society, where the principal means of production are under social ownership or control, production is progressively speeded up, and disparities of wealth reduced through equitable distribution of national income and wealth. In 1957, the Congress formally adopted the establishment by peaceful and legitimate means of a Socialist Co-operative Commonwealth as its objective. Thus, the establishment of a "Socialistic Pattern of Society" came to be adopted as the aim and objectives of the Congress. Throughout its eventful history the Congress has been steadily and consciously working towards that end.

4. Since the attainment of freedom, the Congress has fought two General Elections on the programme of "planning for socialism" and the people of India have basically endorsed this policy. The Parliament also has accepted the socialistic approach to economic development and in formulating the Five Year Plans,

this objective has been kept in the forefront. A time has come when the basic ideas underlying the Congress approach should be clearly defined and its programmes effectively enforced.

5. The object of the socialist economy is to build an affluent society through the optimum use of human skill and labour and material resources. Modern science and technology have reached a stage of advancement, more particularly in industry, when no competitive economy can subsist without making their fullest use. India must unavoidably, if the socialist goal of abundance is to be attained, adopt the latest scientific and technological practices and obtain maximum production. New plants to be set up in the public and private sectors must be the latest and most advanced and old existing machines progressively replaced by newer and more efficient ones. However in a backward country, for a fairly long period, small and cottage industries, which *need small capital but provide more employment, especially in the countryside*, shall continue to occupy a prominent place. Nevertheless in this sector too constant efforts shall be made to improve levels of techniques and use of electricity and mechanical power.

6. Every two out of three people in India live by farming. Agriculture contributes nearly half of our national income and provides raw materials for important industries like textile, jute and sugar. The progress of agriculture has, however, lagged behind and during the last two years it has actually declined. The importance of agriculture in our economy cannot be over-emphasised, yet the tools and practices used by the bulk of farmers are primitive. That the Indian soil is capable of raising the highest yields attained in the world is well demonstrated by the results achieved by some progressive farmers. For the overall national production to rise, however, all the farmers including the smallest ones must grow more. Self-sufficiency in food and raw materials being our goal, modernised agriculture must be made to reach small holdings. The responsibility for fulfilling this task falls on service departments like Community Development, Cooperatives, Panchayati Raj and Irrigation. Unfortunately, the activities of these departments have failed to produce the necessary impact and there is immediate need for their reorientation and invigoration.

7. There are people who do not fully realise the importance of the organic relationship between agricultural yields and the system of prevailing land tenures. The farmer will not labour and produce more unless the fruits of his labour are assured to him. The Congress has decided that the land should belong to the tiller of the soil and the intermediary interests abolished. In this appreciable success has already been achieved. Another basic decision of the Congress relates to ceiling on land which a farmer can own. When land constitutes major form of wealth, its extent is limited, and there are large numbers of landless workers, redistribution of land in excess of the ceiling limit becomes a matter of social justice. Efforts to enforce ceiling have lagged behind on account of half-hearted and inefficient handling, and much of what was attempted to be done has been thwarted by opponents of ceiling through court litigation. Delay in enforcing the ceiling laws has resulted in prolonging uncertainty and retarding the growth of agricultural production. It has become necessary to save land reform laws against avoidable litigation by amending the Constitution. In a land which predominates in excessively small holdings, joint farming can add substantially to production and farmers' prosperity. The Congress favours the setting up of joint farms, but it should be done through voluntary efforts.

8. Underdeveloped countries all over the world suffer from lack of resources, material skill and technical know-how. India is no exception to the rule. Socialistic economy produces for the masses and individual interests are subordinated to social ends. Indian economy must, therefore, develop for the benefit of the people. Priorities must be laid down and the available resources distributed according to national interest not only *inter se* between different major activities—agriculture, industry and social services—but also among the sub-group activities of these major activities. India has deliberately taken to a planned system of development and there is no going behind it. Our planners have gained enough knowledge of the techniques of planning but the implementation of the planned programme has fallen short. "Good planning is meaningless without adequate execution of plans that are made." To overcome this defect in agriculture, specialised experiments, known as the Package Programme Scheme, has been taken up in some selected areas. Full utilisation of the installed capacity in industries and elimin-

ation of vexatious procedures and delays in grant of licences for up-industries need immediate attention.

9. The plans are formed for the people—living now and to be born in future. The problem of population growth thus attains special significance for all systems of planning. Unfortunately the projected estimates of population increase postulated in the Second Plan proved to be gross under-estimates. India's population during the decade preceding 1961 Census has increased by about 2.2 per cent per year and the rate of increase is growing further. Some efforts at family planning have been made but they did not even touch the fringe of the problem. Japan has shown the way for controlling population and India must take effective measures to control population growth. The population problem deserves no lesser importance than agriculture or steel plants.

10. Socialism appeals to the people for it provides equality of opportunity but so long as the present disparities of wealth continue to exist, equality of opportunity, though enshrined in the Constitution, remains a sheer myth. The extension of the public sector, wherein ownership and profits are shared equally by all people and the provision of social security, especially health and old-age insurance, are some of the effective devices for reducing inequalities. The public sector must grow and play an increasingly vital part in our large trade and industry, especially in the field of heavy and basic industries, mining, fuel, energy, transport, etc. Anti-social activities like speculative gains and illegal benefits must be ruthlessly suppressed. The monetary, fiscal and taxation policies must be effectively used to eradicate poverty and bring about increasing economic equality. It is not enough to provide free and compulsory education to younger boys and girls but the State must undertake responsibility to provide facilities to all talented youngmen, who are not possessed of sufficient resources to attain the highest education according to their capacity.

11. Socialist planning involves strict discipline in various sectors of economic and social activities. We have accepted the concept of mixed economy and the private sector shall be given its due place. However, the activities of the private sector will be controlled by the overall strategy of national planned development. Growth of monopolies and profiteering will be curbed. Certain sectors of private industry such as the processing of agricultural produce are eminently suited for cooperative

methods of organisation. They will be given full encouragement.

12. Industrial peace is essential for rapid growth of economy and not only shall the interest of the worker be protected but the worker would be progressively associated in the management of industry with a view to give him a sense of participation. For the consumer the level of prices is a matter of vital concern and of late not only have the prices risen unjustifiably but in certain common commodities like sugar and foodgrains artificial shortages by hoardings have developed. When artificial scarcity is created, consumers' resistance can play an effective role and the Congress will give it its full support. Another way of eliminating profiteering in retail trade is the organisation of Consumers' Co-operatives and the Government is already giving full encouragement to the organisation of such societies. If it becomes indispensable in the larger interests of the community, controls have to be applied, but every effort will be made to ensure their honest and efficient working.

13. Socialism does not merely signify changes in economic relationship in society. It involves fundamental changes in the socialist structure, in concepts of thinking and in ways of living. Caste and class have no place in a socialist order as envisaged by the Congress. Old ideas about privilege on the basis of birth or caste or class or money or hierarchy of office shall be discarded. Full recognition will be given to dignity of labour. In every grade of life dignity of the individual shall be ensured. Mere material prosperity will not make human life rich and meaningful. Along with economic development, therefore, ethical and spiritual values will have to grow. The Congressmen in their every day life should become models of this socialist philosophy.

14. India is wedded to the democratic way of life. Our Constitution ensures equality among individuals and attaches high value to human dignity. Exploitation of one man by another is alien to the concept and principles of the Congress. The Congress has long traditions of non-violence, the rich heritage left by the Father of the Nation, and changes in the social order must be brought about by peaceful means and the willing consent of the people. The Congressmen would only be doing their duty by creating faith among the people in socialism as conceived by the Congress. The Congress ideology may thus be summed up as socialism based on democracy, dignity of the individual and social justice.

THE Indian National Congress, in its role as the emancipator of the country from alien rule, was not concerned merely with the winning of political freedom but had a social objective also. After independence, therefore, the Congress as the party in power called upon the nation to go the socialist way.

Beginning with the most important programme of abolition of landlordism, it proceeded to the establishment of Panchayati Raj, and finally the securing of a satisfactory rate of growth and a strong industrial base for the economy.

To this end recourse was taken to planning and in this, top-most priority was assigned to heavy and basic industries under State ownership.

Difficulties and handicaps began to appear in many ways in the struggle against poverty ; nevertheless, the Congress began well and succeeded, to a certain extent, in its march towards the declared goal of democratic socialism. It fought three general elections on the basis of planning for socialism and the people of India largely endorsed this policy. However, as the second Plan proceeded, big hurdles, such as shortage of trained personnel, foreign exchange and a deteriorating political situation aggravated by the cold war atmosphere, were encountered.

On top of all this came the Chinese aggression which changed to some extent the trends of our national activities from peace to defence effort.

In its totality, therefore, a new situation developed embodying dangers to phased plans of our economic development ; shortfalls began to appear and the rate of economic growth was also not rising according to our expectations ; wealth had increasingly concentrated in a few hands.

Considerable industrial capacity was unutilized owing to defective assessment, restrictive licensing policies and lop-sided emphasis on the import of capital goods. Prices of essential goods showed rising trends. Administration and control of

services began proving ineffective, and this led to a rise in corruption.

Above all, agricultural production became chronically stagnant and the programme of land reform remained unfulfilled in many parts of the country.

As this situation developed, the decisions which pledged the Indian National Congress to establish a socialist society—decisions which have been repeatedly reaffirmed—were sought to be diluted and even challenged on the plea that we must not be doctrinaire. The proponents of the so-called realistic approach now seek to confuse the party and the Government.

To achieve this end that section of the press under the ownership and control of a few monopolistically inclined industrialists and financiers was exploited by the latter defiantly to oppose Government policies. They befogged issues in their own narrow interests.

Socialist Programme

This session of the All-India Congress Committee, therefore, finds it necessary to reiterate that the events of the past years have only confirmed the need to work more vigorously and purposefully for a socialist society, independent, democratic and secular, which must commit the Government to a concrete programme of socialism wherein :

(1) The programme of agricultural production should be given the highest priority in the next 10 years.

(2) The administrative services are re-organized and re-formed with a view to make them more effective for servicing the new objectives of economic development under socialist society in which means of production and distribution are placed under society's control and where work is organised between the Central Government and the State units on a more simplified, trustworthy and timesaving basis, and where greater equality is established between different classes of public servants.

(3) A more commanding place is given to public sector industries, and the distinction between heavy and consumer goods industry is abolished so that quick profit returning and basic consumer goods industries might progressively come under society's control.

(4) The nation's fiscal policy and the currency are put on a more realistic basis so that narrow concepts of credit-worthiness do not come in the way of talented persons owning small-scale industries in a decentralized manner, and so that small industrial ventures in the rural side are assured of speedy expansion in the shortest possible time.

(5) A ceiling on individual ownership of industrial licences with a view to restrict concentration of wealth is imposed, such ceiling not exceeding Rs. 50 million; speculation and trade in land used for housing purposes is abolished and society owns all land meant for housing purposes.

Agriculture

With regard to the agricultural programme, the Congress reiterates that the farmer is the owner of the soil he tills and that the whole programme of land reforms indicated by the Congress from time to time must now be completed by June, 1965.

The Congress calls upon the Government to undertake state trading in food and other essential commodities and to organise this programme in such a manner that the wholesale business of farm produce is completely taken away from private hands in 24 months from now.

The Congress is of the view that Governments must produce 130 million tonnes of food by 1975 ; touching 100 millions in 1966, 120 millions in 1970, and 130 in 1975.

For this target it is essential that: (a) The wholesale purchase price of wheat, paddy and other important cereals be fixed at a reasonable economic level as in the case of sugarcane ; (b) Wholesale credit be arranged by the joint efforts of the co-operatives and the Government to the peasantry. Such wholesale arrangement for credit to small cultivators along with other essential supplies, such as, fertilizers, agricultural implements and irrigation water at concessional rate alone can be a guarantee against the low productivity and the high level of cost in our national programme of agricultural development. Further, the exploitation of cultivators by moneylenders who are even now advancing about 65 per cent rural credit to the cultivators as against 18 by the joint efforts of the Government and co-operatives, can be stopped ; (c) It seems now incontrovertible that bullock power will not be sufficient for the new post-land

reform small units of agricultural land. The State should, therefore, with a view to supplement bullock-power, undertake manufacturing small tractor units immediately, beginning with 100,000 in 1966, thereafter increasing to 200,000 in 1968, 400,000 in 1970, and 600,000 annually in 1972, thus taking the gross output of small tractors to more than two millions in 1972.

Petro-chemical industries and automobiles should form a necessary associate programme to the other State sector programmes development because fertilizers and communications are essential to step up the nation's developmental activities on all fronts.

The Congress also reminds the Government that such dimensions of agricultural programme as have been envisaged above cannot be undertaken without complete nationalization of banks and full control over currency.

The Congress, therefore, desires that the programme of warehouse construction, management of co-operatives and Government marketing of foodgrains, and all plans for the manufacture of agricultural implements should be completed before the Union Government Budget of 65-66.

It is also important that the management of co-operative marketing and the functioning of the warehousing system should be revised with a view to simplifying the operations to enable a large army of graduates and undergraduates to learn methods of co-operative business.

In order to make the scheme of wholesale trading and warehousing a success, it is necessary that the small farm producer gets his supplies of consumer goods from the co-operative stores organized under the warehousing and co-operative marketing complex.

Administration

With regard to reformation of administrative services, the Congress is of the opinion that while the old system of bureaucracy has done well and has kept its reputation for efficiency, it has certainly become outmoded in many respects.

The Congress, therefore, is of the opinion that a high-level commission of experienced administrator-politicians should be announced immediately whose task should be to give a new

shape to our administrative services from top to bottom on the lines indicated above.

Industries

On the programme of industries and the guiding philosophy of its expansion, the Congress feels that the time has come when the Industrial Policy Resolution of 1956 should be further fortified and the public sector given a more commanding place. It is necessary to draw heavy consumer goods industries like sugar, textile and other quick returning consumer goods projects into the fold of the State sector, for such an expansion of public sector alone will be able to find resources for welfare schemes without increasing the tax burden. Side by side with this expansion of the public sector, the Congress feels that now a big programme to develop rural industrial centres is ripe. These centres should be owned by co-operatives, and individual citizens who will confine their activities to such goods as are required for local consumption.

Obviously a policy of preferences should be encouraged for the consumption of these articles in the areas where they are produced, for it is now certain that in a vast country like ours, development of small cottage industries in rural areas will definitely solve our problem of unemployment and be a healthy supplementary activity to agriculture. Nationalization of banks and revision of fiscal policies will go a long-way to find resources.

Fear of inflation should not restrict the planning of programmes envisaged above, for it is only by bold planning and perspective thinking and distribution of resources according to a plan that greater production could be assured both on the agricultural and industrial segments of our activities.

Welfare

Having specified programme of agriculture and industry and the necessity of revising the fiscal policy and the administrative system of the nation, the Congress also wishes to emphasize that the programme of education, health, housing and supply of pure drinking water to the rural areas should also receive urgent consideration of the Government.

All important medicines needed for the nation's health should be in society's control. A bold housing programme has to be

planned now with a view to quickly realise the objective of decent living accommodation for every citizen. Maximum mechanization of house-building alone will facilitate success in a programme of constructing 12 to 15 crores of houses necessary for the nation by 1975.

This session of the Congress expects the Government to stop immediately all speculation in land for housing purposes and start building mechanized houses within the Third Plan period.

The Congress has noted with disappointment that the programme of supply of fresh water to rural areas has not gone ahead as quickly as deserved. All red tape and delaying methods must be eradicated in the implementation of this essential scheme so that fresh and pure water may reach every home in the village by 1968.

The Congress has noted with great disappointment that a proper democratic and socialist atmosphere has not been created in the country due to the faulty growth of the press in India. Unless press proprietorship is completely banned to industrialists and merchants, the freedom of the press will be in peril and all democratic education will cease to exist in this country.

The Congress is, therefore, of the view that the Government should take immediate steps to release the press from the clutches of industrialists, bankers and other big businessmen. In its opinion, the press should be owned by institutions and individuals whose bonafides as impartial men are unquestioned.

Democracy

The Congress feels that it is possible to achieve the above mentioned social objectives only through rational attitude and full reliance in scientific planning. Full opportunities be given to the young scientists and technicians for initiative in research and scientific studies. It is necessary that greater attention be exercised in the task of developing our thought and culture so that our citizens are equipped for a purposeful life in a fast changing world. Such healthy opportunities to our talented youth and greater attention to the development of nation's thought and culture alone will offer avenues to the Indian people to flourish as a strong democratic modern nation in which the dissenter is respected and authoritarianism cannot flourish.

Our land will thus become a living laboratory for an integrated democratic socialist society, a society pledged to the task of modernizing the mind of India, expanding and multiplying her factories, fertilizing her exhausted fields, nourishing her traditional quest for knowledge, a society determined to project a wise and self-reliant India into the rapidly advancing world of the twentieth century fearlessly propagating the great truth that the values of freedom and equality are indivisible and imperishable. This Congress Session calls upon the party and the Government headed by it to re-dedicate themselves to the task of building a democratic, secular, socialist life on these principles and for these perspectives—and to convince the people that there is no other way to socialism and an assured future.

Explanation

These are days of misunderstanding, distrust and suspicion. I wish to explain, therefore, to my co-workers in the organisation why I persist in doing propaganda for the socialist programme and propose a resolution on Democracy and Socialism for consideration by the Bhubaneswar Session even though the Working Committee under the leadership of Panditji is drafting a resolution on this subject.

I am afraid the Working Committee, representing as it does many trends of opinion in the Congress and influenced by what is called expert advice, may not be able to give the people the lead they are asking for in this matter. Socialist programmes may be balanced against chances of maximum foreign aid by Governments who do not like the idea of a socialist transformation in India. Fear of losing such aid may influence some who advise the leadership of the Congress to compromise on socialist objectives, even though the people are eager for such a transformation. The people demand all the objectives of a truly socialist programme and they understand that democracy in this country can survive only if such programmes are implemented without further loss of time.

I am not able to understand what is inhibiting us. If it is fear of losing foreign help, it should not be difficult for us to understand that a world moving towards peace will have to help us to the best of its ability, whatever our internal order. If the Western democracies can oblige the Chinese fanatics and des-

peradoes, I do not see why we should be anxious to explain to the world that our picture of socialism is not very different from capitalism.

Another doubt often raised is that democratic resources for development may dry up if we place before the people a truly socialist programme. This again is not true. The people will not withhold co-operation if those who lead them set example of austerity, honesty and courage of conviction. The people will sacrifice if our policy liquidates vested interests and spreads a message of equality.

Work and money will shower on any Government which goes the socialist way and adopts Gandhiji's ideals of austerity and personal sacrifice.

I want my colleagues in the A.I.C.C. to ponder over these truths and not to misunderstand me when I say that our people demand :

- (a) A more commanding height to the Public Sector.
- (b) Wholesale trading in foodgrains along with fixation of prices for farm produce.
- (c) Credit facilities to farmers.
- (d) Nationalisation of banks.
- (e) Ceiling on the value of industrial licences given to individuals.
- (f) Reorganization of services, and
- (g) Delinking of the press from industrial and business houses.

These are immediate and vital steps towards democratic socialism that the Congress must take.

A P P E N D I X B

SYLLABUS FOR CONGRESS STUDY CIRCLES

*PREAMBLE***The Challenge**

The perfidious aggression of China, the subsequent state of emergency, and the mounting vicious campaign of reactionary forces and the monopoly press in India against the Congress, its policies of socialism, planned development and non-alignment, and against its great leader, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, culminating in the abortive no-confidence move against the Nehru Government, together constitute the most serious challenge to India's peaceful planned progress since our hard-won independence.

More particularly, it is a challenge to the spirit and objective of our great Congress organisation which has been built up in the course of decades by the efforts of the best sons and daughters of India, and which is today the instrument of the ideals and policies of our noble leader Shri Nehru, and is the hope of India's teeming millions and architect of their future.

In the prevailing situation, a great responsibility devolves on the Congress specially, on the Congress organisation and Congress workers of Delhi, for Delhi is the nerve centre of the nation. Developments in Delhi are bound to have a deep impact on the entire country.

Nature of the Challenge

The challenge is two-fold :

(1) A challenge to our entire foreign policy of peace, non-alignment and friendship with all countries pursued so steadfastly and with such great success by India under Shri Nehru's stewardship ;

(2) A challenge to the Congress ideology of democratic socialism through a policy of planned progress, industrialisation

*This Syllabus was prepared by a Sub-Committee of the D.P.C.C. in early 1963 and later approved by it. It was later sent to Nehruji by D.P.C.C. President, Mir Mushtaq Ahmed, and was approved by him.

by the development of the State Sector, land reforms and co-operativization.

(3) Challenge of disruptive forces of the Right and the Left, both internally and externally.

New Responsibility of Congressmen

In short, the Congress today is facing a trial of the policies and programmes it has preached during the freedom struggle and after. The reactionary anti-Congress coalition is now making an organised, unscrupulous attempt to win the allegiance of the masses to its fascist policies and programmes and therefore the Congress has to fight it all along the front and rout it.

A stage has been reached when the prestige and popularity of the top leadership of the Congress are not by themselves sufficient to sustain the confidence of the masses in Congress policies and programmes. It is high time that Congressmen at all levels should get into action imbibing and assimilating the ideological understanding and spirit that govern the approach and action of Congress High Command and our supreme leader, Shri Nehru.

Equipping the Congress workers—for what?

The equipping of the Congress worker to bear his new responsibilities in the changed circumstances becomes all the more necessary in view of the fast growing political consciousness of the people resulting in their critical appraisal of policies and programmes. No doubt, this new alert and analytical attitude of the people is a direct result of the efforts and struggles of the Congress, and the fruit of freedom won by it.

The equipping of the Congress worker to fulfil the new tasks confronting him is intended—

(1) to enable him effectively to answer the criticisms of Congress policies and programmes by the opposition parties ;

(2) to enable him to rouse the enthusiasm of the people to become active participants in the development plans and projects of the Government, to realise their duties and obligations and not merely to harp on their rights : in short, to make them aware of the impressive development of the country, which has already taken place, is taking place, and will take place in

the coming years, according to the plan clearly chalked out and firmly established ;

(3) to enable him to explain to the people the role of certain self-seeking groups, die-hard classes and vested interests, who are opposed to socialist advancement in the country and the foreign policies of peace and non-alignment.

Equipping the Congress workers—how?

It is obvious that Congressman will be able successfully to commend these policies and programmes to the people, only when he himself is sufficiently enlightened and inspired and completely convinced that the regeneration and salvation of the country lie in them.

This conviction and enthusiasm will come to Congressman only when he has at least basic knowledge of the hoary traditions of India, the battle for freedom fought successfully under the leadership of the Congress and the high and noble objectives of the Congress, the realisation of which will usher in an era of absolute peace and prosperity for India.

Further, this conviction about the correctness of Congress policies and programmes will come to him when he realises what an important position India holds in the present-day world setting, and what a magnificent role our nation has played in this atomic age under Shri Nehru's sagacious leadership for the preservation of world peace.

Lastly, this enthusiasm for socialism will come to him when he is convinced that in the terrible conditions of under-development, as a consequence of long foreign rule, India can make sure and rapid progress only by following the path of socialism.

THE SYLLABUS

Once these purposeful propositions are accepted, the question of drawing up a syllabus is easily solved. Broadly, the following pattern is suggested:

The course of lectures can be divided under two heads :

- (1) HISTORICAL ; and
- (2) IDEOLOGICAL: (A) General, (B) International, and (C) National. Of course, the ~~nature~~ number of lectures

under each head will have to be indicated in accordance with the three levels of the Congress, namely,

- (1) Mandal,
- (2) District, and
- (3) Pradesh.

A broad outline of the lectures under each of the above-mentioned heads is given below :

I—HISTORICAL

(i) Early history—traditions of tolerance—village democracy—ideal of *basudhaiva kutumbkam*—cultural attainments and contributions to world thought and culture—prosperity—unity of India—her unique personality—story right up to the end of Moghal rule.

(ii) British imperialism in India—Why India went down—evil effects of casteism, self-glorification and village self-containment—imperialist exploitation—destruction of village industries—policy of divide and rule—construction of railways and early industrialisation under British rule—famines, poverty and degradation—the crisis of British rule.

(iii) Battle for freedom and role of Congress—pre-1857 India revolts—the 1857 Revolution—formation of the Indian National Congress—the role of revolutionaries—World War I—Tilak's role—coming of Gandhiji, Non-cooperation—Workers' and Peasants' Movements in the 1920s—Civil Disobedience Movement of 1930-32—Congress Ministries of 1937-39—World War II—the 1942 August Revolution—the I.N.A.-R.I.N. Mutiny—Partition and achievement of Independence—emphasis on Congress role.

II—IDEOLOGICAL

(A) General

(i) Origin and development of history—primitive tribal society—absence of property—common ownership—break-up of tribal society—coming of slave society—exchange relations replaced by commodity production—growth of money economy, break-up of slave society—advent of feudalism—characteristics of feudal society—expansion of trade and market—growth of towns and the merchant class.

(ii) Capitalism, imperialism—growing power of the merchant class—conflict between merchants and feudalists—scientific inventions—Industrial Revolution—the supplanting of feudalism by capitalism—French Revolution—introduction of democratic system and parliament by capitalism—growth of industrialisation—search for world markets—enslavement of Afro-Asian nations—colonial rivalry between powers—capitalism grows into imperialism—struggle for division of world—World Wars.

(iii) Contradictions in capitalism—poverty in the midst of plenty—unemployment—recurring economic crises—birth of socialist ideas—Owen—Marx—capitalism gives rise to working class movement—imperialism gives rise to fight for freedom from colonialism—failure of capitalism.

(iv) Socialism—new stage in the development of human society—search for solution of capitalist contradictions—the anomaly of social production and individual appropriation—socialism making appropriation social, solving problem of unemployment, and providing full scope for development of man's personality—Russian Revolution of 1917 in the midst of World War I.

(B) International

(i) India's contribution to world thought and its high prestige—revolution of science—one world movement—end of old concept of national self-isolation—international impact of specific national developments—imperialism as cause of wars—freedom struggles of Afro-Asian countries and impact of India's freedom battle on them—World War II and the role of the Soviet Union—effects of World War II—dawn of the atomic age—birth of the United Nations.

(ii) Free India in world setting after World War II—India's stand against fascism—India's contribution to the liberation of Afro-Asian nations—Bandung Conference—principles of *Panchsheel* and peaceful co-existence—Nehru as the builder of world policy of Afro-Asian nations—India's high prestige—India's friendship with the Arab world—India's friendship with Afro-Asian nations—impact of free India's socialist objective and scientific and economic advancement.

(iii) India's role in the United Nations and as saviour of world peace—role in Korea—role in Viet-Nam—role in the Arab-Israel conflict—role in Congo—the Cold War—India's part in the progress of world disarmament—the treachery of China—India's non-alignment policy leading to China's isolation in the world—China's isolation from socialist camp—assistance to India by both blocs in developing its economy and in facing Chinese aggression—the national advantages of India's policy of non-alignment, peace and friendship with all nations.

(C) National

(i) Origin of Congress—British sponsorship and forum of middle class—early demands and resolutions—impact of Tilak and Bengal Partition—radicalization—Motilal Nehru's Amritsar speech and seeds of just social pattern—coming of Gandhiji and direct action—Gandhiji's championing of *Daridranarayan*—Champaran and Kaira Satyagrahas.

(ii) The 1921-30 period—growth of socialist ideas in the country and working class movement—League Against Imperialism formed by Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose—growth of Naujawan Bharat Sabha Movement—contribution of Revolutionary Movement—Poorna Swaraj resolution of Lahore Congress—Jawaharlal Nehru's plea for socialism at Lahore—the 1930-32 Civil Disobedience Movement—Karachi Congress Resolution on Fundamental Rights.

(iii) The 1931 to August 1942 period—discussion among Congressmen regarding whose freedom—clash and conflict of ideas—Nehru's *Whither India?*—freedom of workers and peasants—objective of socialism—formation of Congress Socialist Party—growing radicalization—Congress Ministries and land reforms—Faizpur Agrarian Programme—formation of the National Planning Committee under Shri Nehru's chairmanship by Shri Subhas Bose—work of the National Planning Committee—the Quit India Resolution—power to reside in hands of workers in factories and peasants in fields.

(iv) Achievement of freedom in 1947 after Partition—a ravaged economy left behind by British—report of the Economic Programme Committee under Shri Nehru's chairmanship—blue print for India's post-Independence development—Kumarpappa Committee's Agrarian Programme—Pant Committee's

Immediate Programme—Creation of Planning Commission—Avadi Resolution on Socialist Pattern in 1955—emphasis on State Sector of industry and land reforms—Amritsar Resolution clarifying the socialist objective—Nagpur Resolution on co-operativization of agriculture and State Trading.

(v) Fruits of Congress policies—India's remarkable industrialization through State Sector—Sindri—Chittaranjan—Hindustan Aircraft—Hindustan Machine Tools—Bhilai, Durgapur, Rourkela—Bokaro—Hirakud—Damodar Ghati, etc.,—Oil Industry—Defence Industries—Land reforms and abolition of intermediaries—other advancements in perspective planning.

(vi) The situation today—steady advance to socialism—nationalization of Imperial Bank, Life Insurance—wrath of feudalists at the enforcement of land reforms—wrath of industrialists at the operation of the State Sector—Press Monopolies' malicious and mendacious campaign against Congress and its supreme leader Nehru—reaction getting organised—Fascist trends—Congress the only hope—the key role of the Congress worker.

(Note :—We need not offer our apologies for this rather lengthy Syllabus. The ideas, which should become part of the political consciousness of every Congress worker, have been sought to be indicated fairly comprehensively. The well-informed lecturer can easily compress them in brief popular lectures).

Question of Training

Our limited purpose here has been to indicate the need for intellectual training and suggest what that training should be and how it should be imparted—and to give a broad syllabus. The organisation of training, which is a matter of a different kind, may be worked out by the Delhi Pradesh Congress Executive.

We should, however, like to say a few words about the selection of lecturers. The lecturers must be highly enlightened and well-informed. The mere occupation of a high office in the Congress by an individual should not be considered a guarantee for his fitness as a lecturer.

We have also to avoid inviting the general "passing" type of lecturers, who, though holding eminent positions, are too busy otherwise to address themselves to this exacting intellectual task. They can, however, be invited to give general lectures.

In fact, it may be worthwhile to have a high-level study circle of selected lecturers. It is of the utmost importance for the lecturers to have studied the writings of Gandhiji and Shri Nehru.

Necessary Literature

It will be necessary to undertake the publication of popularly written pamphlets and booklets on the various topics narrated above in the Syllabus. It will involve expenses and serious thought. We just put forward this suggestion for discussion at an appropriate time. A list of books, which will be helpful in the preparation of lectures on the subjects mentioned in the foregoing Syllabus, may be drawn up after the Syllabus is finalized.

I. Indian National Movement (10 Hours)

(Note : Our treatment should emphasise the essential ideological and programmatic developments, and not get lost in a mass of details about the freedom struggle, repression and heroism.)

(i) Back Ground : British Conquest of India.

Why India Fell—India's political disunity, stagnant economy, and backward organisation confronted with British superiority in organization, technique and economic development.

Effects of British Rule—Destruction of industry, decay of agriculture, and conversion for the first time into a political and economic appendage of another country.

Growth of the Indian States-system—British aim. The Great Revolt (1857) and its failure.

(ii) Indian Resurgence—First Phase.

Reform and other movements—Ram Mohan Roy ; Swami Dayanand Saraswathi ; Ramalinga Swami ; Swami Vivekananda, the path-finder of Indian Resurgence ; Syed Ahmed Khan.

Pitiful Industrialisation.

Militant movement under Tilak ; Gokhale ; Tagore and Iqbal ; Bharati and V.O. Chidambaram Pillai.

British technique—concession, repression, and divide-and-rule ; separate electorates.

First World War.

(iii) Indian Resurgence—Second Phase :

Coming of Gandhi : Congress becomes a dynamic organization, participation of the masses in the struggle ; Planks of the movement : Hindu-Muslim unity, abolition of untouchability, Swadeshi, truth and non-violence.

Poorna Swaraj Resolution—Salt Satyagraha. Karachi resolution ; second phase of struggle. Faizpur agrarian charter.

Government of India Act (1935), General elections, Congress governments in provinces, Kisan mazdoor upsurge, socialist propoganda, National Planning Committee.

Congress foreign policy takes shape—China, Spain,

China, Munich pact, Second World War—Individual satyagrah; Pearl Harbour and Stalingrad, Congress stand ; Cripps proposals ; Quit India struggle, I.N.A.

Post-war upsurge ; Communal riots, partition and independence of India.

II. Internal Political Developments in Free India (4 hours)

(a) Communal riots and refugees, assassination of Gandhiji.

(b) Integration of States.

(c) Hyderabad.

(d) Kashmir.

(e) Indian Constitution—Union and States. Fundamental rights, unique for a developing country. Declaratory principles, Independent judiciary ; linguistic states ; amendments for social and economic advance.

(f) Three General Elections and functioning of Parliament.

III. India and the World (6 Hours)

(a) Foreign Policy—freedom for colonies, peaceful coexistence, and non-alignment with power blocs ;

(b) Foreign policy in action—Indonesia, Chinese Revolution, Panchsheel, Korean War, War in Vietnam and the Geneva Conference (1954). Suez Crisis (1956).

(c) End of Colonialism, emergence of Afro-Asia. India's role.

(d) Developments in the West and India's relations with the Western Countries.

(e) Developments in Socialist countries—Tito's revolt ; de-Stalinization ; Poland and Hungary ; Growth of Indian friendship with Socialist Countries ; Sino-Soviet conflict.

(f) Indo-Pak and Sino-Indian relations ; Sino-Pak alliance against India ; continued aggression by both.

(g) Atom bomb—India's Policy.

(h) Indians in foreign countries.

(i) Summing up India's relations with the rest of the world.

IV: Democratic Socialism (6 Hours)

(a) Democracy—Representative Government, the centre-piece ; guarantee of civil liberties (national security being the

only overriding consideration) ; independence of the judiciary and rule of law.

(b) Democracy and capitalism—marriage of opposites ; tensions ; modification of one at the expense of the other ; British, German and American experiences.

(c) Dictatorship and Socialism—Union of opposites ; may work for a time ; costly ; experiences of Socialist countries.

(d) Democracy *versus* Dictatorship—with reference to efficiency, mobilisation of popular forces for national progress, commission and correction of mistakes, enduring changes and continuity.

(e) Capitalism *versus* Socialism : profit system leading to monopoly *versus* system of co-operative service (with material incentives also playing a part) leading to social and economic equality ; universal nationalisation not the *sine qua non* of socialism ; social ownership or control of the means of production and distribution, leaving room for private initiative, can fulfil the aims of socialism.

(f) Tasks of democratic socialism—those of advanced countries different from those of developing countries.

(g) Tasks in India—Land reforms ; co-operatives ; industrialisation with accelerated growth of the public sector, especially in mother industries ; social welfare measures ; spread of education and culture ; judicious use of foreign aid ; trade relations with all countries.

(h) In developing countries democratic socialism can shape the course of action itself instead of merely reacting to happenings : the needed ethic of austerity and social discipline will also come easier ; democratic socialism is pragmatic and empirical and at once principled and positive.

V. Indian Unity Through Ages (5 Hours)

(With emphasis on Tamil contribution to the common culture.)

(a) Emergence of a multi-racial society at the very dawn of history ; racialism meaningless and mischievous.

(b) Political balkanisation in the past no justification for partition demands at present ; national disunity a non feature in the past (Germany, Italy, etc.).

(c) Multi-lingualism no bar to nationalism ; U.S.S.R., Switzerland, Canada, India's own past.

(d) Sangam age and the Indian way of life ; political science ; beliefs ; religions ; caste system and opposition to it ; festivals.

(e) Tamil contribution to Indian philosophy, Bhakti movement and fine arts.

(f) Freedom of thought, key to Indian way of life ; attitude to religions of foreign origin.

(g) Economic basis of old Indian nationalism ; village society and extensive trade.

(h) Effects of British conquest ; emotional integration in and through the national awakening.

(i) Failure to overcome Muslim League communalism—Reasons.

(j) Tasks ahead.

VI: Language Problem (4 Hours)

(a) India always multilingual ; regional languages thrived in all fields ; Sanskrit was the link language of the Indian intelligentsia ; rise of Hindusthani as the link language with the Moghul rule ; its use by the British in the early stage.

(b) Imposition of English by the British ; emergence of a new caste system ; education reduced to cramming ; Indian languages suffered ; incidental advantages of English.

(c) Language, poetic testament of a nation and her culture ; love of one's mother tongue natural and desirable ; democracy, education and original thinking require that Indian languages come to their own in administration and education ; implementation of this programme of the national movement, so far partial ; yet, even now, relative fall in the standard of English in India ; with the Indian languages becoming supreme in their regions, use of English as link will become increasingly difficult.

(d) A link language necessary for the centre to hold together administration and law, for communication among the various linguistic groups for trade, etc, and as a vehicle of the composite culture of India.

(e) Choice of Hindi as link language. Hindi spoken by the largest number of people ; relatively simple and easy ; capable of assimilating forms and expressions of other languages.

(f) Voluntary acceptance of Hindi by non-Hindi essential pre-condition; associate status for English language in the transitional period.

(g) Obstacle to the assertion of the rights of Tamil in administration and education arises not from Hindi zealots but from Angl-omaniacs. With Tamil becoming supreme in Tamilnad, Hindi will be accepted as link language.

(h) Study of English with a view to comprehension if not expression necessary—Three-language formula. Our task to make Tamil medium of Government examinations and University education.

VII. Five Year Plans (6 Hours)

(a) A comprehensive review of the achievements of the first three Indian five-year plans. Similar review of the progress in Tamilnad. Spotlight the setbacks and pinpoint the reasons for the same, especially lag in the implementations of the land reforms, administrative bottle-necks, corruption, profiteering and lag in the mobilisation of popular enthusiasm.

(b) Perspective—national minima to be achieved by 1961: fourth five-year plan.

